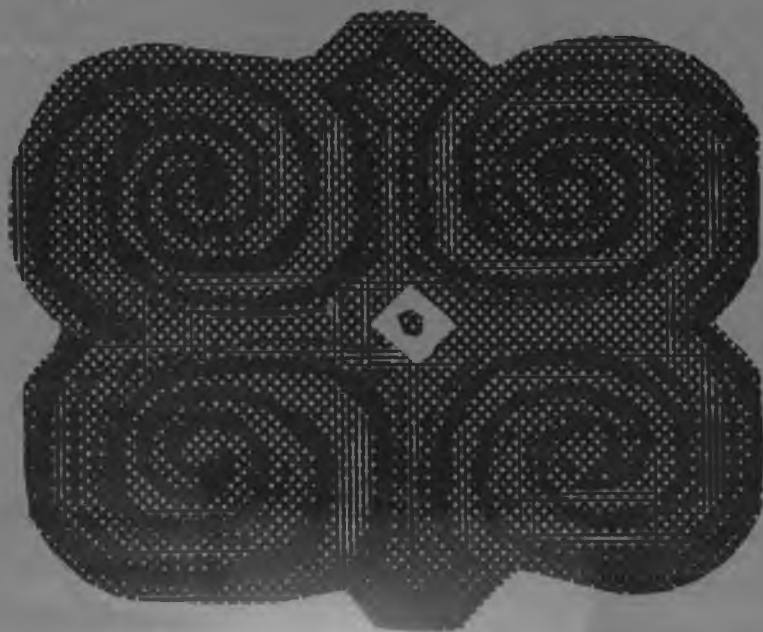
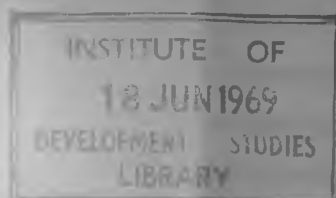


**UNIVERSITY OF GHANA
INSTITUTE OF
AFRICAN STUDIES**

***RESEARCH
REVIEW***



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RESEARCH REVIEW

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INSTITUTE NEWS

Staff

New Appointments

Miss. S.M.B. Drid Williams from University of Wisconsin, University Extension Division, has been appointed Chief Instructor in the School of Music and Drama.

Study Leave

Mrs. C. Oppong B.A.(Cantab) M.A. (Legon) Research Fellow in Social Anthropology left for Britain on Study Leave.

Visiting Professors

Dr. Roy Sieber, Professor of Fine Arts, Indiana University Blomington, Indiana, U.S.A., has arrived in the Institute as a Visiting Professor.

Professor Richard Greenfield of Division of Area Studies, State University College, New Palts, New York, is in the Institute as a Visiting Senior Research Fellow.

LEO FROBENIUS AND CULTURAL RESEARCH IN AFRICA

Some time ago, the journal of the Institute of Foreign Relations in Stuttgart published a short essay by Mr. Leopold Sedar Senghor, President of the Republic of Senegal.¹ It bore the motto: "During the coming era the most important role will fall to that cultural style which combines in itself the highest form of emotional fascination with creative talent".² It was not accidentally that he chose this sentence from the book "Schicksalskunde in Sinne des Kulturwerdens" by the German ethnologist Leo Frobenius. In this essay President Senghor tells us how – as a student at the Sorbonne and the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes in Paris – he became acquainted with the work and ideas of Frobenius. At that time he read the above mentioned book and another one by the same author – "Kulturgeschichte Afrikas"³, and he describes the lasting impact the teaching of this scholar had on himself and on other African students. President Senghor writes: "To the first pioneers of the Negritude he (Frobenius) was much more than a teacher, whose opinions had to be taken seriously; to them he was an effective power, a driving force toward discovering, awakening and consolidating the latent energies within the black people... he talked to us about the one big problem which had become our own cause: the problem of the nature, development and destiny of black African culture"⁴.

We just learned that Frobenius considered emotional fascination an imperative feature of a leading culture. He himself had that ability in an inordinate degree: from early youth on he had been fascinated by African

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1. L.S. Senghor, Schwarzafrika und die Deutschen. in: Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch, Jahrgang 15, Heft 3, Stuttgart 1965, p. 115 ff.
 2. L. Frobenius, Schicksalskunde im Sinne des Kulturwerdens. Leipzig 1932, p. 202. – French edition: Le Destin des Civilisations. Paris s.d. (1936?).
 3. L. Frobenius, Kulturgeschichte Afrikas, Zurich 1933. – French edition: Histoire de la Civilisation Africaine, Paris s.d. (1936?).
 4. L.S. Senghor, loc. cit., p. 115 f.

cultures, and he must have been supremely gifted in transferring his own emotional fascination to his students. The present writer had the personal good fortune of having the late Professor Adolf Friedrich, a former Frobenius student, as teacher and guide during most of his own studies. Friedrich, too, was emotionally fascinated by the cultures of his choice - in his case the cultures of Asia. Leo Frobenius spent practically all his life with studying African cultures. It is worth trying to give an impression of the life and work of this remarkable man, whose name may already be familiar to one or the other of the readers.

Leo Frobenius was born on June 29, 1873, in Berlin, the capital of Germany. His father was an officer in the Prussian Army. Even as a schoolboy Frobenius was interested in foreign cultures. He read every travel report on foreign countries he could lay his hands on, especially those on Africa. His parents were not exactly delighted when he started an ethnographic collection. After finishing school - he never graduated, by the way - the young man became a merchant, but soon he devoted all his time to studying foreign cultures. He was only twenty years old, when he published his first essays in geographical and ethnographical scientific periodicals.⁵ In 1894 a short study on the secret societies of Africa⁶ and various other essays were published. From then on Frobenius published something every year until he died.

His start was anything but easy. Since he never took a university examination, scholars in his field considered him a dubious outsider and dilettante. Nor did he proceed gently with the older German specialists, and in his youthful ardour his critical observations occasionally overshot the mark. He therefore had to put up with some harsh criticism and even enmity on the part of recognized scholars. As early as 1894 he started to build up a private African archive, which later developed into the Frobenius Institute and today is part of the University of Frankfurt. Over

5. For a complete bibliography of Frobenius' works see: H. Niggemeyer, *Das wissenschaftliche Schrifttum von Leo Frobenius*. In: *Paideuma* (Mitteilungen zur Kulturkunde), Band 4, Bamberg 1950, p. 377-418.

6. L. Frobenius, *Die Geheimbunde Afrikas*. Hamburg 1894.

many years of diligent studies Frobenius gathered together a great deal of data on the most diverse subjects, such as clothing and adornment, foods, handicrafts, habitations, social customs, religion, etc. It is hard to estimate the exact volume of the archive, but there must be well over 100.000 notes. The illustrations of typical and important African tools alone amount to about 25.000 items. At a later date an archive on fairy tales and myths was added.

The first fruits of this archive which had been layed out with such immense care, were two books published in 1898 on masks and secret societies of Africa⁷, and the basic work on the origin of African cultures.⁸ In this latter book he programmatically developed the doctrine of cultural cycles as a scientific method. But he did so in an overbearing, almost arrogant manner, which at a later time he considered unacceptable himself. Everywhere this work was sharply rejected, even by those who had promoted his research and acknowledged certain achievements and ideas. After its publication Frobenius was nearly completely ignored by the scholars. In this book he had gone way beyond his time in his scientific projections, as well as in his general attitude towards foreign peoples. It was quite natural that at the end of the 19th century, at the climax of European colonialism, Frobenius should arouse opposition. He not only accused the Europeans of egocentric historical thinking, but directly and indirectly attacked colonial imperialism.⁹ His first exposition on his ideas of the philosophy of culture appeared in the book on African cultures. Frobenius compared culture to man and a living being as such: "Cultures live, give birth and die, they are living beings.... A culture is a large body and all acquisitions of culture - whether of a spiritual... or material nature... - are parts of it. Just... as one recognizes the nose of the father in the

7. L. Frobenius, *Die Masken und Geheimbunde Afrikas*. (= *Nova Acta. Abhandlungen der Kais. Leop.-Carol. Deutschen Akademie der Naturforscher* 74, Nr. 1). Leipzig 1898.

8. L. Frobenius, *Der Ursprung der afrikanischen Kulturen*. Berlin 1898.

9. Frobenius, *Der Ursprung der afr. Kulturen*, p.VIII.

nose of the child, so we have to recognize the inheritability of weapons, tools, huts, etc. The entire method (of the sciences of culture) rests on the definition of the forms of development and inheritance in a given culture; I do not mean of an individual part or section of it, but rather of the prototype which determines the essential character of all its parts. Our concern must be to establish as exactly as possible the outer (morphological) and inner (anatomical) structure of a culture and its forms of living (physiological structure), and then the answer to the question of relatedness will appear."¹⁰ At another point he makes the daring statement: "Culture grows by itself, without man, without a people... Culture is a living being." Men, of course, are the vessels of culture. Since man must die, but culture continues in essentially the same way and "changes much more slowly than man, cultural forms are the documents by which we can study the history of mankind..."¹¹ Speaking about this early hypothesis in his later book "The Destiny of Cultures", Frobenius says in 1932 that, if he had originally claimed culture to be self-sufficient and independent of man in its growth, it was only a few years afterwards that he tempered this concept by including man in his examinations as the spiritual supporter of culture. It was his desire to go beyond the object and reach man that led to his first voyage¹². It was also in this book that he formulated in a concise form the central ideas of his teachings which he called the doctrine of the morphology of culture: "The course of life of an individual is determined by his position as an object in the face of culture, just like a whole culture, a cultural period, or culture as such is determined by its relations to the larger development of biological phenomena of the organic world"¹³.

10. Frobenius, *op. cit.*, p. XI f.

11. Frobenius, *op. cit.*, p. XIII.

12. Frobenius, *Schicksalskunde...*, p. 69f.

13. Frobenius, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

Let us once more return to the book on the origin of African cultures, which was to have such a lasting effect on ethnological research in Germany and Austria. The starting point of the examinations on the origins of African cultures was the question, how it was possible that a cultural manifestation (an object, a house, a religious concept) could occur in two separate parts of the earth in exactly the same form. The ethnologists of the late 19th century were extremely interested in this question. It was answered in two different ways: one group held that from its inception the spiritual development of man had been laid out according to the same laws: on a certain level of culture man inevitably comes to invent certain tools and form certain habits. Utility was considered the primary motive of invention. Phenomena of the spiritual-religious sphere, which one could not or would not put into the category of utility, were explained by a difference in mental attitude. This evolutionary theory (or, according to Adolf Bastian, this theory of elementary thoughts) was countered by the doctrine of diffusion, which claimed that there had been human contact between the various tribes even in man's earliest beginnings, and that in this manner the transmission of cultural goods was accomplished. In 1898 Frobenius proved that not only isolated cultural items in areas separated by distance were of a similar shape, but that in certain regions numerous elements were alike.¹⁴ Frobenius examined the similarities and dissimilarities of individual cultural elements, as for instance shields, bows, knives, throwing-clubs, throwing-knives, musical instruments, forms of housing, etc. He studied all available data on these objects from all over Africa. He entered the range of distribution of the various types on maps. By comparing the ranges of distribution of the various cultural elements Frobenius came to the first result of his new method: the culture cycles to which he assigned the African cultures. Later he revised this idea of cultural cycles in some parts.

Even if at first Frobenius' method was severely attacked, as explained before, he was brilliantly justified six years later. A meeting of the Berlin Society for Anthropology, Ethnology and Prehistory was held

14. A.E. Jensen, Leo Frobenius - Leben und Werk. In: *Paideuma* (Mitteilungen zur Kulturkunde), Band I, Leipzig 1938/40, p. 51f.

on November 19, 1904, which was to become historical. On this occasion Fritz Graebner read a paper on "Cultural cycles and cultural strata in Oceania", and Bernhard Ankermann lectured on "Cultural cycles and cultural strata in Africa".¹⁵ Even today these lectures by two assistants of the Museum of Ethnology in Berlin are frequently considered the beginning of research on cultural history, although in fact Frobenius' book "Der Ursprung der afrikanischen Kulturen" could claim this honour for itself. Graebner confirmed the proper approach of Frobenius' research method, but he accused him of not having supported it by sufficient evidence. Graebner felt that Frobenius had been too schematic in his method, with the result that elements belonging together had been torn apart. It was mainly Bernhard Ankermann, the specialist for African studies at the Berlin Museum of Ethnology, who did justice to Frobenius. He said in his lecture: "Frobenius must be given credit for having created in his book the first unified picture of this enormous material. After examining the material one must acknowledge the picture as being generally correct...."¹⁶ Frobenius was present at this memorable meeting. He himself pointed towards the dangers inherent in his method: it was not enough to look merely at the outer forms of certain cultural elements, one had to determine their content. He drew attention to the fact that he himself had in the meantime changed some of his views expressed in his book, but that at the time of its publication it had been its genuine errors that his critics had completely overlooked.¹⁷

After the first phase of theoretical work, a period of intense travelling followed for Frobenius. There are only occasional theoretical speculations in his books which he presented to the public as the result of his travels. One theoretical problem, however, seems to run through practically all his writings: his endeavour to reconstruct the history of African cultures. From the start his journeys had been planned with this in mind, and his book on the history of African cultures, first published

16. Ankermann, *op. cit.*, p.54.

17. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Band 37, 1905, p.88 f.

in 1933, is simply the logical outcome of his travel program.

The proud pleasure he felt at finally being recognized by some representatives of science coincided with a period of travel preparations. Ever since 1893 Frobenius had tried in vain to raise sufficient funds for a research-voyage. He succeeded in these efforts in 1904. It is understandable that, after his book on the origin of African cultures had appeared, Frobenius had the urgent desire to actually see and study African cultures in their whole context. At Christmas time 1904 he travelled to what then was the Congo State, accompanied by a painter. There he went into the Kassai-Sankuru region and studied the cultures of various peoples; among others he visited the Bakuba, the Bapende, the Bena Lulua, and the Bachokwe. In 1906 he returned home with a wealth of scientific data, and in 1907 he published his book "In the Shadow of the Congo State".¹⁸ In this first travel report, as well as in all those that were to follow, Frobenius wrote unreservedly about the obstacles put in his way by bureaucracy and by individual administrators in the colonies he visited. But aside from this frank criticism he mentions appreciatively the help and promotion extended to him by certain administrative officers and personalities. A large number of fairy tales and legends he had recorded while in the Congo, was not published until twenty years later.¹⁹ Even on this first trip Frobenius established ethnographic collections which were sold to various German Museums.

In 1907 Frobenius started on his second voyage which led him from the Senegal, through the Western Sudan, to Northern Liberia and through Upper Volta to Togo. His travel route first took him from Dakar to St. Louis. After a short stay there he journeyed up the Senegal river to Kayes, and - by train - to Bamako. There he set up his base of operations, and

18. L. Frobenius, *Im Schatten des Kongostaates*. Berlin 1907. Most of Frobenius' notes from the Congo are unfortunately still unpublished.

19. L. Frobenius, *Dichtkunst der Kassaiden* (= *Atlantis*, Band XII). Jena 1928.

then travelled northward into the Beledougou and from there southward through Guinee to Northern Libera. After that he returned to Bamako, and his next trip took him via Mopti to Timbuktu, and through the Hombori Mountains to Bandiagara and onward to Ouagadougou, the capital of the Mossi Empire and of the present-day Republic of Haute-Volta. Via Northern Togo he reached the terminus of this trip: Lome. Frobenius left a deep impression among the native population by his interest in their culture and his helpfulness. Twelve years ago the present writer met a former clerk of the French Colonial Administration in Leo, a small administrative center in the South of Haute-Volta. He was an old man by that time, but he remembered the German Frobenius who had visited Ouagadougou while he had been stationed there as a young French civil servant. He said - a little bit exaggerating - Frobenius' interest in culture was so intense that nothing could be hidden from him. Furthermore he said that Frobenius had treated sick people in that region. Frobenius' own travel report of that period mentions that shortly after he had arrived in Ouagadougou the only doctor for miles around had died.

Frobenius did not go alone on this trip either: his travel companions were an engineer and a painter. After his return to Germany doctors advised him to spend the winter 1909/10 at the Mediterranean, but Frobenius could not bear staying at any one of the mundane spots on the Riviera: together with his wife and his brother - a painter by profession - he travelled to Algeria where in the spring of 1910 he was busy with cultural studies. Thus, for better or for worse, his third trip to Africa was accomplished, the results of which we shall discuss at a later point.

In the same year - that is, in 1910 - Frobenius sailed for Nigeria and Northern Cameroon, accompanied as usual by a painter. There he devoted himself to the study of the cultures of the Yoruba, the Jukun, Nupe, Tiv, and various tribes of Adamawa. With the Yoruba in particular he attempted to achieve historical depth: he came across the famous terracottas and stone figures and got to know bronze sculptures in the classical Yoruba style. Frobenius immediately recognized the high artistic value of these objects. He made them known in Germany through publications, and brought a number of terracottas back with him. In 1912 he returned from this tour. In the same year he went on his fifth journey - this time to Kordofan - while the sixth - from 1912 to 1914 - took him to

Algeria and Morocco where he studied rock paintings. His seventh trip finally was made to Eritrea in 1915, on behalf of the German General Staff.

I shall mention only the most important publications on the results of these journeys: in 1911 a report on his travel to the Western Sudan and the Volta region appeared under the title "Auf dem Wege nach Atlantis" (= On the Road to Atlantis)²⁰ The most significant results of all his African explorations South of the Sahara he presented in his three volume work "Und Afrika sprach...", published in 1912/13.²¹ A somewhat abridged version of it appeared in English translation that same year, entitled "The Voice of Africa" (2 vols., London). In this expansive work we can clearly recognize Frobenius' conviction that African cultures must have been in contact with the classical high cultures in the Mediterranean and Near East areas. This supposition found expression in the sub-titles of the first two volumes of "Und Afrika sprach": Frobenius supplied the first volume with the subtitle "On the Ruins of Classical Atlantis"²², while the second volume was entitled "On the Threshold of Venerable Byzantium"²³. Frobenius believed that cultural elements of the classical high cultures reached Western Africa by sea along the Atlantic coast of Africa. Although cultural relations between the Mediterranean region and Western Africa had been fundamentally accepted by the scholars, Frobenius was criticized for suggesting the sea as the route of transferral instead of the Transsaharan route. Frobenius had not excluded this second possibility as a travel route for cultural goods, but in a certain sense this criticism induced him to study the cultures of North-West Africa. In this area and its profusion of cultural documents, he did not only concentrate

20. L. Frobenius, *Auf dem Wege nach Atlantis*. Berlin-Charlottenburg 1911.

21. L. Frobenius, *Und Afrika sprach...*, 3 Bände, Berlin-Charlottenburg, 1912/13.

22. *Auf den Trümmern des klassischen Atlantis*.

23. *An der Schwelle des verehrungswürdigen Byzanz*.

on the contemporary cultures, but also tried to evoke the voice of the past: he studied rock-paintings and had copies made of them by the four painters accompanying him. The first fruit of these studies put before the public was an essay on the manner of grave construction Frobenius had examined archaeologically in North-West Africa.²⁴ This very study of the layout of graves represented an organic supplement to his research in the Niger river-bend where he had also investigated the structure of graves.

It was well over ten years that Frobenius had to forego further travelling, because of the First World War and its aftermath. Now he had the time to edit his many notes and assess the result of his journeys. He writes that an harmonious atmosphere among his travel companions was of great importance to him, and that he always felt personally responsible for the morale and wellbeing of the members of his travelling team. Doubtless-ly this was not an easy task at a time when all luggage had to be transported by carriers which considerably increased the number of participants. In 1925 he proudly states that during the years 1904 to 1915 he employed several thousand people, and despite a number of epidemics he never had to mourn the death of a single one.²⁵

In this period of contemplation which political and economic circumstances enforced upon this restless wanderer and explorer, Frobenius returned with new vigour to theoretical problems. In his considerations he always adhered to his method published in 1898, although he had improved it since then. In the book "Paideuma", published in 1921, Frobenius writes, that he had departed from the mechanistic world-view which, in 1898, had influenced his writings on the origin of African cultures, and that now he is convinced that culture can only be grasped intuitively. "The mechanistic (world-view) tries to understand single processes and phenomena

24. L. Frobenius, Der kleinafrikanische Grabbau. in: *Prähistorische Zeitschrift* 1916, p. 1-84.

25. L. Frobenius, Vom Schreibtisch zum Aquator (= *Erlebte Erdteile*, Band III). Frankfurt 1925, p. 38.

of actual and psychological life by ascertaining laws. Its strength lies exactly in the finding and establishing of these laws - its weakness in that inevitably the elements that conform to such laws confront those that do not. In this manner... the abnormal and the exception are set apart as second class material, as it were, and thereby the method loses its reliability for all-inclusive and equal judgement... The intuitive world-view, on the other hand, based on the conception of a plan, is satisfied with finding the most significant phenomena and perceptively establishing their proper place within the whole structure of existence"²⁶ By declaring himself in favour of the intuitive world-view, Frobenius handed a weapon to his opponents, which they occasionally used against him rather unfairly. Disdainfully they would assert that Frobenius was working with intuition instead of with facts. But his early works and the "Atlas Africanus"²⁷ which appeared in the twenties, argue against this opinion. His travel activities had brought Frobenius into close contact with African peoples. In "Paideuma" he draws the following conclusion: "I have seen great and strong manifestations of culture among hardly known dark races, and small and poor cultural remnants among high-ranking people in Europe - and vice versa; I have met with broad-minded and free views, deep inner religiosity, great and true poetry in dark corners of human communities, and paltry insignificance, envy and the like, right next to significance, in my own country. Men are the same everywhere." His practical experience had convinced him that culture was even more of a "self-sufficient organism" than he had claimed in his earlier work: "Culture, in its large organic nature, now appears to me even more independent of man than it did earlier." The book "Paideuma" is meant to introduce the reader to the "soul-like qualities" of culture. It is not an attempt to present a single culture, but rather an attempt to acquaint the reader with

26. L. Frobenius, *Paideuma - Umriss einer Kultur- und Seelenlehre*. München 1921.

27. L. Frobenius u. Ritter von Wilm, *Atlas Africanus*. 8 Hefte, München und Berlin 1922-1930. - English edition of nos. 4-7: *Morphology of the African Bow-weapon*, Berlin and Leipzig 1932.

the essence of all culture. Exemplary questions for such investigations are: 1. what forms of poetry are characteristic of a people? 2. From which level does the creative power of culture draw its life? 3. what is the meaning of knowledge in a given culture? Almost all examples quoted in this book are the outcome of Frobenius' African travels. In a number of other books on Africa, written between 1921 and 1925, these ideas have been further elaborated.

It was during these years that the first volume were published as part of the seven volume work "Erlebte Erdteile"²⁸ (Continents Experienced), which in a sense represents a complete view of Frobenius' ideas and endeavours. This series also contains a second revised edition of "Paideuma"²⁹. In the same period the first of altogether twelve volumes of fairy tales, legends and myths was printed, material Frobenius had collected during his travels.³⁰ The tenth volume of this series - the title

28. L. Frobenius, Erlebte Erdteile. 7 Bände. Frankfurt a.M. 1925-1930.

29. L. Frobenius, Erlebte Erdteile, Band 4: Vom Volkerstudium zur Philosophie. Der neue Blick. 1925.

30. L. Frobenius, Atlantis. Volksmärchen und Volksdichtungen Afrikas. Jena 1921-1928:

- I. Volksmärchen der Kabylen 1. Band. Weisheit. (1921).
- II. Volksmärchen der Kabylen. 2. Band. Das Unegheuerliche (1922)
- III. Volksmärchen der Kabylen. 3. Band. Das Fabelhafte. (1921)
- VI. Märchen aus Kordofan. (1923)
- V. Dichten und Denken im Sudan (1925)
- VI. Spielmannsgeschichten der Sahel. (1921).
- VII. Dämonen des Sudan. (1924).
- VIII. Erzählungen aus dem Westsudan. (1922)
- XI. Volkserzählungen und Volksdichtungen aus dem Zentral-Sudan (1924)
- X. Die atlantische Gotterlehre. (1926).
- XI. Volksdichtungen aus Oberguinea. (1924).
- XIII. Dichtkunst der Kassiden (1928).

of which could be translated "The Mythology of Atlantis" - deals with the religion of the Yoruba and appeared in a French translation under the title of "La Mythologie de l'Atlantide". In Germany this collection of fairy tales, legends and myths aroused repeated criticism, right up to the present: Frobenius had derived his texts exclusively from interpreters and so their authenticity could not be corroborated. Furthermore, Frobenius had been rather free in his translations of them into German. When at a later date other authors were able to procure the actual texts, it was found that Frobenius had been absolutely correct as far as the motives and essential plots of the stories were concerned. Cultural research is primarily interested in motives.

In one of the volumes of "Erlebte Erdteile" Frobenius writes that when he started out, he considered it an absolute necessity to learn the language of the people with which he wanted to concern himself. In the Congo, therefore, he had learned the basic traits of the languages of the Bayaka and Baluba. But because his visits were relatively brief, he did not learn to master the subtleties of the languages.³¹ It is understandable that during his tours in West Africa, between 1907 and 1912, Frobenius did not manage to learn the languages of all the tribes with which he came into contact.

In 1922 Frobenius founded the "Research Institute for the Morphology of Culture" in Munich, which was moved to Frankfurt on Main in 1925. This research institute became part of the University of Frankfurt, and is called the Frobenius-Institute today. Together with his collaborators at the research institute, Frobenius started yet another great work in the early twenties, the "Atlas Africanus". In it he tried to comprise cartographically all important elements of African cultures, so that with the aid of such maps a more comprehensive view of the African cultures might emerge.³² Unfortunately the "Atlas Africanus" was never completed, and there is little chance of its being finished by someone today.

31. Frobenius, *Erlebte Erdteile*, Band III: Vom Schreibtisch zum Äquator. Frankfurt 1925, p. 29.

32. See foot-note 27.

In 1925 the major results of his North African trips - from 1910 to 1914 - were published in the book "Hadschra Maktuba", in which Frobenius put before the public his extensive material on rock-paintings.³³ Hugo Obermaier, one of the leading pre-historians of his time, wrote the introduction to this book.

In 1926 Frobenius was able to take up his travelling again: he went into the Nubian desert. Only two years later his ninth tour followed which took him to South Africa. A variety of things attracted him there: the rock pictures of South Africa, the ruins of Zimbabwe, and the traces of the divine kingship of the Zimbabwe Empire in the contemporary cultures of those peoples living in the region of the ruins. This was Frobenius' last extensive trip to Africa South of the Sahara. Between 1932 and 1935 Frobenius went on three more journeys, to Lybia and other parts of North Africa, primarily to study rock-paintings and engravings.

While for his previous tours he used to take outsiders, mainly painters, as travel companions, he now felt it his obligation to train young oncoming scholars whom he took along on his journeys. In this way he introduced a change of generations. For reasons of health, Frobenius had to entrust his collaborator Adolf E. Jensen, who later became his successor, with leading a research voyage to Ethiopia.

The ethnographic report on the South African journey had appeared in 1930. In 1931 it was followed by two volumes entitled "Madsimu Dsangara"³⁴, which contained the most significant rock-pictures found in South Africa. In the next year his book on the destiny of cultures³⁵ was published and in 1933 the history of African cultures³⁶. The last great work to come from Frobenius' pen was printed in 1937, and deals with the

33. L. Frobenius und H. Obermaier, Hadschra Maktuba. Urzeitliche Felsbilder Kleinafrikas. Munchen 1925.

34. L. Frobenius, Madsimu Dsangara. Sudafrikanische Felsbilderchronik. 2 Bande. Berlin und Zurich 1931.

35. L. Frobenius, Schicksalskunde im Sinne des Kulturwerdens. Leipzig 1932.

36. L. Frobenius, Kulturgeschichte Afrikas. Zurich 1933.

rock-paintings of Fezzan. Its title is "Ekade Ektab"³⁷. The ideas expressed in "Schicksalskunde..." and "Kulturgeschichte Afrikas" represent Frobenius' scientific legacy. The later book in particular is significant in the context of this paper for, as said before, it was this book which even in the thirties made a great impact upon African students. Without a doubt, some of its details need correction now, to accord with the results of further research during the past thirty years; but some of its basic tenets are still supportable, and constitute the groundwork for many new investigations.

In the year 1912 Frobenius had reported on his work to the German Kaiser - for the first time. Wilhelm II gave considerable sums from his private funds to finance Frobenius' North African journeys between 1912 and 1914. In the twenties this relationship between Wilhelm II and Frobenius became more intimate. Frobenius was a frequent guest in Doom, the Dutch exile of the Kaiser. Wilhelm II founded the "Doom Study Group" in co-operation with Frobenius: Frobenius, his collaborators and various befriended scholars of other disciplines used to travel to Doom for lectures and scholarly discussions.

The preferment of the German Kaiser was not the only recognition Frobenius received during the late years of his scientific work. After he moved to Frankfurt, he received a teaching appointment from the University. Shortly thereafter he was generally recognized by the scholars and enjoyed a considerable reputation among specialists. In 1932 he became honorary professor at the University Frankfurt. When he died, on the 9th of August 1938 in his house at Biganzolo on Lago Maggiore, the life of a scholar, filled with achievement, came to an end - no doubt a restless existence, but nevertheless an existence which in gratefulness Frobenius had abundantly enjoyed.

37. L. Frobenius, Ekade Ektab. Die Felsbilder Fezzans. Leipzig 1937.

Overlooking his scientific activity we can divide it into four phases: The storm and stress period of the young man, lasting about a decade, during which his bold ideas were first brought to public attention; next, the travelling period at the height of his life, when Frobenius critically examined his own theories by checking them against actual facts; in the third phase of his life - during the years following the First World War - he revised his earlier theories, while his last phase is marked by new research travels, and by his mature assessment of all the practical experience he had gained in Africa.

Frobenius' scientific postulations have fallen on fertile ground - at least in Germany. Graebner's and Ankermann's work is based upon them, and Hermann Baumann, who at present is "the grand old man" of German ethnology, further developed and revised the scientific ideas of Frobenius and Ankermann - a little more than 25 years ago he wrote the first detailed synthesis of African cultures³⁸, which is to be followed up in the near future by a basic revised synthesis. Baumann's new work on African peoples and cultures will be published in two or three volumes. It has been written by a team of ethnologists under the direction of H. Baumann who will present his new view of the synthesis. The book of George Peter Murdock³⁹ has proved that it is impossible for a single scholar to write a really valuable synthesis of the African cultures without the collaboration of other specialists.

At the end of this paper, it will be useful to give a short summary of the ideas expressed by Frobenius on the culture cycles of Africa.

38. H. Baumann, *Volker und Kulturen Afrikas*. In: H. Baumann, R. Thurnwald, D. Westermann, *Volkerkunde von Afrika*. Essen 1940.

39. G.P. Murdock, *Africa - Its Peoples and Their Culture History*. New York 1959.

The Ethiopian culture covers nearly all parts of Africa where farming exists. This culture is associated with cultivated plants. Frobenius distinguished Eastern Ethiopians between Ethiopia and Darfur, Central Ethiopians between Wadai and the Bauchi plateau of Nigeria, Western Ethiopians in the Western Sudan, Southeastern Ethiopians in East Africa, and Southwestern Ethiopians in the Congo. Eastern, Central, and Western Ethiopians are characterized by patrilineal descent, patriarchal organization of the family, a considerable participation of men in farm-work, age-set systems, segmentary social organization, cult of the ancestors, cult of the earth under the direction of special priests, combination of cattle-breeding and farming (especially sorgho), etc. The Ethiopian culture has a tendency to incorporate foreign elements. This explains, why it is often difficult to distinguish between e.g. the Ethiopian and Old Erythrean Cultures.

The counterpart to the Ethiopian culture is the Hamitic culture which can be found in North and Northeast Africa, as well as along the so-called Hamitic migratory route in East, South, and Southwest Africa. To this culture belong hunting and cattle-breeding with respective customs (the cattle-complex!); dominating position of leather in material culture, thinking is rational; dead and dying persons are as far as possible avoided; the evil eye is considered to be the cause of illness and accident; amulets; sorcery, and magic are most important. This culture - according to Frobenius - was responsible for the production of rock-pictures.

The relicts of an old hunting culture were discovered by Frobenius among small groups of hunters in Northwest Africa, in the hinterland of the Western Guinea Coast, between Niger and Chad, sporadic, too, in East and Southwest Africa. This culture, called Mahalbi culture (from Hausa mahalbi or maharbi = hunter) by Frobenius, is characterized by certain customs in initiation-rites and in hunting. It is said to be a variant of the Hamitic culture.

The Old Erythrean culture is spread especially in West Africa and it is represented only in a few places of East Africa. Use of vegetable materials and artistic ornamentation of tools and household utensils are typical for the Old Erythrean culture. Shields from wickerwork, objects, made from bamboo, slit-drums, xylophone, and the house on piles are some important elements belonging to that culture.

Apart from the Old Erythrean culture Frobenius worked out a Middle Erythrean culture, having entered the African continent at two places: in the North in Ethiopia and in the South at the coast of Mocambique. Accordingly, Frobenius distinguished a North and a South Erythrean culture. The latter one is spread among the Central and South-eastern Bantu, i.e. in the Southern Congo and in Southeast Africa. The spheres of influence of the North Erythrean culture Frobenius discovered in Northeast Africa, in the Eastern and Central Sudan. Leit-motif of these cultures is the divine kinship, to be found - we must admit - in the Western Sudan and on the coast of Upper Guinea as well. Frobenius e.g. cartographically fixed up the following motives: ritual murder of the king; the custom of the king's eating in secret; the king marries his sister sexual licence of the royal princesses; respected position of the queen-mother; anarchy during interregnum, etc. Frobenius considered e.g. the hare as the hero of tales and the house with conical roof as other characteristics of these cultures.

The Syrtic culture is responsible for many of the Old Mediterranean influences on West Africa. Frobenius thought that this culture came to West Africa by Transsaharan routes. Ruins of lost towns, sanctuaries and grave-chambers were said by him to be leit-motives from the Mediterranean in the North to the Sahel in the South. Fortress-like clay compounds, tower-like granaries, granary-urns, funerary urns, containers made from skin, tanning und dyeing of leather, metal casting in the cire-perdue process, the town-plan with four gates oriented according to the four cardinal points, and certain ornaments used in pottery and in scarification are further elements of this culture.

Like the Erythrean and Syrtic cultures, Frobenius considered the Atlantic culture as an inheritance from Western Asia. This culture comprises the coastal parts of the countries of the Gulf of Guinea as far as the Congo. It was considered by Frobenius to be an offshoot of the Atlantic culture of the classical era. Frobenius believed that Benin and the Yoruba kingdoms were its main contemporary representatives. Characteristic traits are certain types of boats; certain rowing techniques gods or couples of gods thought to reside in the four directions of the world; stone-beads; production of glass-beads; burnt-sacrifice or -offering; toga-like costume of men; in sculpture the motive of women

holding their breasts with the hands; burial by fumigation; use of coffins.

Frobenius devoted his life's work to Africa. Africa in its turn rewarded him richly by his contact with its cultures. What was it that Frobenius gave to Africa though? It was more than merely his ideas on the philosophy of culture which were gladly and gratefully received and attested by African students of the thirties, who were stimulated by them to regard their own cultures in a new and, fortunately, positive light. It was more than his recognition of African cultures which Leo Frobenius wrote about in his "Kulturgeschichte Afrikas". It was a wealth of documents, parts of which already belong to history, while others will become historical material within a few years or decades. When that time comes, African historians will profit greatly by consulting the extensive documents Frobenius compiled. This will not only comprise the study of his books, but equally so the utilization of the archives of the Frobenius-Institute in Frankfurt.

Jurgen Zwememann

THE ASHANTI RESEARCH PROJECT

The following is an extract from an up-to-date Progress Report No. 1 (1963-1966) on the Ashanti Research Project.

Project A: Stools History of Ashanti

So far 180 reports have been received from Mr. Agyeman-Duah, a part-time Senior Research Assistant of the Institute. They bear the classification numbers: IAS. acc. no. 1-180.

Work in connection with this project is in three stages:

Stage 1:

- Involves
- (a) checking the serial arrangement of the reports;
 - (b) reading through a selected number, 25, taking at random, to know and note points of immediate interest; and
 - (c) preparing a Code Book on the basis of this knowledge.

Work on this is completed, but it can be expanded from time to time to take account of new material.

Stage 2:

- Involves
- (a) preparing code cards for each of the 180 reports;
 - (b) transferring information from the reports on to the cards, using code numbers. To de-code the information on the cards, the Code Book is to be referred to.

Work at this stage is tedious and time-consuming, since it involves patient reading and careful analysis of the 180 reports. It may take at least three months to complete this assignment.

Stage 3:

- Involves (a) preparing statistical tables; and
 (b) submitting a preliminary report. (Target date: March 1967).

Note: Since our interest is not specifically on the provision of statistical data, it may not be necessary to transfer the coded information on to the IBM cards for processing; but the preservation of these cards is essential for easy reference work at the Institute. They will be stored at the Statistical Section here in our Branch.

Section B: Other Collections

These other collections include reports on the Volta Basin (VB); Traditions of the Ewe Tribe (tet); History of the Brong-Ahafo (BA), etc. submitted by Messrs Ameyaw, Kumah, Aduamah, and the rest.

After reading through a few of these reports, I noticed interesting similarities of occurrences relating to the role of certain historical individuals, such as the Hunter; of certain religious inanimate objects, such as the Stone, etc., in helping to build nations. These must be classified, codified and documented for the benefit of research workers. Here, one can find the problem of synthesis a matter of research interest.

As a result, special cards have been issued for each subject under the following categories: "H": The role of the Hunter as Pathfinder of States, Kingdoms or Oman; "S": The significance of Stone + in traditional religions, e.g. fetishism; "Co": Contraditions in Oral Traditional History; "Cl": Evolutions of Clans and their place in traditional administration; "My": Traditional Mythology; "Dw": Drums with death, war, or terror-implied message; etc. Referring to any such card, one could not only know the range of similar historical references to a particular medium, but could use the codified list as a bibliography in an auxilliary sense.

A special Report on Cross-cultural Symbolisms (based on analysis of the Collections) will be submitted in due course.

Section II: CODE-ITEMS

About 60 of the 80 cells have so far been used thus:

A: General Classification

- Cell 1: Answers the question "to whom does the stool occupant swear oath of allegiance".
- Cell 2: The kind of Sword used by the stool occupant when swearing to the Asantehene or Chief.
- Cell 3: Whether the stool occupant has direct access to the Asantehene, or whether he has to pass through another stool occupant.
- Cell 4: Multiple-coding
 - (a) Shows the abusua (clan) of the stool occupant.
 - (b) Shows the Division (military or otherwise) of the Asantehene to which the stool occupant belongs.
 - (c) The category under which the stool occupant is traditionally classified.
- Cell 5: Descent of the Stool: Matrilineal; Patrilineal; Both Matrilineal and Patrilineal; Esom Dwa; Akofo Dwa, etc. Which one?
- Cell 6: Indicates the status of the stool occupant: royal or non-royal; ancestral or non-ancestral; hereditary or non-hereditary, etc.
- Cell 7: Refers to the non-hereditary stool whose occupant owes his appointment by the exercise of the Royal (Asantehene's) Prerogative.
- Cell 8: Refers to created stools, and the Asantehene - the referent King, who created them.
- Cell 9: Reasons as to why the stools were created.

Cell Nos. 10-20: The total number of occupants on each stool from:

- Cell 10: Nana Prempeh I to Nana Prempeh II
- Cell 11: Nana Osei Tutu to Nana Prempeh II
- Cell 12: Nana Osei Kwadwo to Nana Prempeh II
- Cell 13: Nana Opoku Ware to Nana Prempeh II
- Cell 14: Nana Pre-Obiri Yeboah to Nana Prempeh II
- Cell 15: Nana Osei Kwame to Nana Prempeh II
- Cell 16: Nana Kwaku Duah I (Fredua Agyeman) to Nana Prempeh II
- Cell 17: Nana Obiri Yeboah to Nana Prempeh II
- Cell 18: The Present Asantehene, Nana Sir Agyeman Prempeh II
- Cell 19: Nana Osei Tutu Kwame (Osei Asibe Bonsu) to Nana Prempeh II
- Cell 20: Nana Osei Yaw Akoto to Nana Prempeh II

B. War Records - Military Service

Number of wars (and their names) fought by the stool occupant in the reign of: (21-33)

- Cell 21: Nana Obiri Yeboah
- Cell 22: Nana Osei Tutu
- Cell 23: Nana Opoku Ware
- Cell 24: Nana Osei Kwadwo
- Cell 25: Nana Osei Kwame
- Cell 26: Nana Osei Tutu Kwame (alias Nana Bonsu Panyin)
- Cell 27: Nana Osei Yaw Akoto
- Cell 28: Nana Kwaku Duah I (Fredua Agyeman)
- Cell 29: Nana Kofi Karikari
- Cell 30: Nana Prempeh I (Kwaku Duah III)
- Cell 31: Nana Sir Agyeman Prempeh II
- Cell 32: Prior to Obiri Yeboah
- Cell 33: Nana Mensah Bonsu
- Cell 34: Blank Cell
- Cell 35: Unclassified wars (wars without referent kings)

C: Cell 36: ORIGIN OF ANCESTRAL STOOLS

Cell Nos. 37-40: Blank Cells

D. DESTOOLMENT of Stool Occupants: Causes and Motivation: e.g. colonial intrigues; customary demands; Nkrumah-political pressure, or what? Also indicates the number of abdications, executions, deportations, etc. of stool occupants, under each of the following successive referent Ashanti Kings: (41-56):

- Cell 41: Nana Oti Akenten
- Cell 42: Nana Obiri Yeboah
- Cell 43: Nana Osei Tutu
- Cell 44: Nana Opoku Ware
- Cell 45: Nana Kusi Bodom
- Cell 46: Nana Osei Kwadwo
- Cell 47: Nana Osei Kwame
- Cell 48: Nana Opoku Fofie
- Cell 49: Nana Osei Tutu Kwame (Osei Bonsu Panyin)
- Cell 50: Nana Osei Yaw Akoto
- Cell 51: Nana Kwaku Duah I (Fredua Agyeman)
- Cell 52: Nana Kofi Karikari
- Cell 53: Nana Mensah Bonsu
- Cell 54: Nana Kwaku Duah II (Agyeman Badu Kofi)
- Cell 55: Nana Prempeh I (Kwaku Duah III)
- Cell 56: Nana Sir Agyeman Prempeh II (Present Asantehene)
- Cell 57: Data without referent Asantehene
- Cell 58: Blank Cell
- Cell 59: Blank Cell
- Cell 60: Total Number of Destoolments, abdications, etc., suffered by the stool from the time of its first occupant to the present.
- Cell Nos. 61-79 Blank Cells
- Cell 80: Total number of wars fought by the stool and its occupants from 'its beginning' to the present.

Section III: BIBLIOGRAPHY (ASHANTI STOOLS HISTORY)A. REGALIA AND RELICS

1. Swords: As/8, p.1; As/16, p.6; As/27, p.1; As/33, pp. 2, 6; As/37, p.1; As/38, p.4; As/158, p.1; As/168, p.1; As/177, pp.1-2. (Lists to be extended).
2. Horns: As/1; As/16, pp.3-4; As/22, p.3; As/24, p.2; As/26, p.1; As/52, p.1; As/57, pp.1-3; As/95, p.2; As/106, p.2; As/145, pp.1-3; As/150, pp.1-2. (To be extended).
3. Drums: As/5, p.3; As/6; As/8, p.2; As/18, p.8; As/24, p.2; As/33, p.2; As/36, p.2; As/70, pp.1-3; As/114, pp.1-2; As/149, p.1; As/158, p.6; As/167, p.4; As/174, p.2. (To be extended).
4. Miscellaneous Stool Properties: As/3, p.1; As/8, pp.1-2; As/14, p.1; As/22, p.6; As/33, pp.1-6; As/39, p.7; As/43, p.3; As/58, p.3; As/59, p.1; As/61, p.1; As/63, pp.1-4; As/70, pp.1-2; As/79, p.2; As/81, pp.1-5; As/89, p.3; As/92, p.1; As/97, p.1; As/98, p.1; As/113, p.2; As/114, p.2; As/121, pp.3-6; As/124, p.1; As/131, p.1; As/132, p.1; As/138, p.3; As/139, p.1; As/140, p.1; As/143, p.3; As/146, p.1; As/147, p.2; As/150, p.2; As/151, p.5; As/156, pp.1-2; As/164, pp.1, 2; As/166, pp.1, 2, 3; As/167, p.4; As/168, pp.1-2; As/169, pp.3, 5, 7; As/171, p.1; As/174, pp.1, 2; As/175, pp.3,4; As/176, p.1; As/177, p.3.

B. STOOL HISTORY

1. Origin of Stools: As/7, p.2; As/8, p.3; As/9, pp.1-3;
As/12, pp.1-2; As/14, p.1; As/19, pp.1-3;
As/26, As/28, p.1; As/29, p.1; As/35, p.2;
As/38, p.6; As/40, p.2; As/108, p.1;
As/163, p.1; As/167, p.4; As/172, p.2;
As/177, p.1
(Note: Data coded in cell 36 to be processed
further and added to this list).
2. Evolutions of Clans & their significance: As/5, p.3; As/7,
pp.1-4; As/8, pp.1-3; As/38, pp.1-3;
As/56, p.4; As/69, p.3; As/153, pp.1-2;
As/154, pp.7-9; As/155, pp.1-2; As/161,
pp.1, 2; As/179, p.2.
(Note: Data coded in cell 4 to be processed
further and added to the list).
3. Traditional Mythology: As/7, p.2; As/8, pp.1-2; As/11, p.1;
As/24, p.1; As/32, p.3; As/35, p.1; As/39,
pp.2, 3; As/43, pp.2-3; As/44, p.1; As/48,
p.3; As/58, p.1; As/69, p.2; As/70, p.1;
As/77, p.1; As/78, p.1; As/80, p.2; As/87,
p.1; As/89, pp.1, 2; As/90, p.3; As/95,
pp. 2-6; As/106, p.5; As/115, p.2; As/125,
p.3; As/126, p.1; As/139, p.1; As/141,
p.1; As/161, pp.1-2; As/162, p.1; As/166,
pp.1, 2; As/168, pp.1, 2.
4. The Hunter as Pathfinder of States or Oman: As/7, p.1;
As/10, p.1; As/16, p.1; As/24, p.1; As/39,
pp.1, 5, 6; As/40, pp.1, 3; As/44, p.2;
As/54, p.1; As/62, p.1; As/63, pp.3, 4;
As/64, p.3; As/72, p.1; As/86, p.1; As/88,
p.1; As/95, p.1; As/99, p.1; As/101, p.1;

As/107, p.2; As/110, p.2; As/129, p.1;
 As/147, p.2; As/151, p.2; As/152, p.1
 As/166, p.2 As/169, p.3; As/171, p.3.

5. DESCENT (As/ to be prefixed to the numbers).

- (a) Matrilineal: 3, 12, 19, 20, (21), 28, 29, 32, 34, 36, 43,
 45, 47, 55, 56, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65,
 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 72, 74, 76, 77, 78, 79,
 82, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 94, 95, 97, 98,
 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 105, 107, 110, 111,
 115, 118, 119, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 128,
 129, 131, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139,
 141, 142, 145, 146, 148, 149, 151, 152, 153,
 155, 156, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165,
 166, 167, 170, 171, 173, 175, 176, 178.
- (b) Patrilineal: 2, 5, 9, 14, 15, 17, 26, 27, 30, (38), 39,
 41, 42, 46, 49, 59, 73, 75, 84, 91, 93, 106,
 117, 130, 140, 147, 154, 174, 177.
- (c) Both Matrilineal and Patrilineal: 23, 50, 80, 81, 144,
 150, 158.
- (d) Extensions: Esom Dwa: 71, 92, 96, 104, 109, 113, 114,
 157, 168, 179, 180.
- (e) Extensions: Ekofo Dwa: 120.

Note: Changed from Patrilineal to Matrilineal 21; Matrilineal
 to Patrilineal 38.

C. NATIVE ADMINISTRATION

1. Finance: As/15, p.1; As/33, pp.5,6; As/41, pp.1-6;

As/43, p.4; As/154, pp.7-9; As/157, pp.1-2;
As/175, p.1. (To be extended).

2. Duties and Responsibilities of Stool Occupants: As/1, p.1;
As/14, p.2; As/27, p.1; As/29, p.1; As/36,
p.1; As/42, p.1; As/45, p.1; As/51, p.1;
As/52, p.1; As/69, p.4; As/92, p.1; As/93,
p.1; As/97, p.1; As/113, p.2; As/138, p.3;
As/143, p.1; As/164, p.2; As/168, p.1;
As/177, p.3.
(Note: Data coded in cell 5 to be processed
further and added to this list).
3. Oaths: As/43, p.2; As/54, p.6; As/87, p.5; As/95,
p.6; As/110, p.3; As/123, p.3; As/129, p.5;
As/144, p.3; As/149, p.3; As/154, p.9;
As/159, p.4.

D. OTHERS

1. Election and Installation of Asantehene: As/33.

SECTION IV: WORK IN PROGRESS

1. Bibliography on Ashanti Stools is also being prepared for the following subjects:
 - (a) Titles and Appellations.
 - (b) Fetishism
 - (c) Komfo Anokye's Predictions.
 - (d) Komfo Anokye's Miracles.
 - (e) Changes in Ashanti Administration.
 - (f) Abuses of Ashanti Constitution.
 - (g) Contradictions in Oral Traditional History.
2. Definitions, notes, remarks and details covering items under Section III will be submitted in a later Report.

COLLECTION OF ORAL TRADITIONS(Cont. from 'Research Review' Vol.3, No.1 page 40)

Further oral traditions have been collected by Mr. E.Y. Aduamah, Research Assistant. His collections catalogued under the general title 'Ewe Traditions' are as follows:-

- | | | |
|---------|---|--|
| ET (7) | - | Tongu General |
| ET (8) | - | Vume (Tongu) Traditions |
| ET (9) | - | Volo (Tongu) Traditions |
| ET (10) | - | Mefe, Battor, and Bakpa (Tongu) Traditions |
| ET (11) | - | Fievie (Tongu) Traditions |
| ET (12) | - | Tefle and Sokpoe (Tongu) Traditions |
| ET (13) | - | A Funeral at Ada |
| ET (14) | - | Dofor (Tongu) Traditions |
| ET (15) | - | Mafi (Tongu) Traditions |
| ET (16) | - | Adaklu Traditions |
| ET (17) | - | Have Traditions |
| ET (18) | - | Kpando Traditions |
| ET (19) | - | Election and Installation of a Chief |

N.B. ET 7, 13, and 19 consist of Mr. Aduamah's own eyewitness accounts rather than oral traditions of the communities concerned. ET 7 describes the geography of Tongu and the occupations of its inhabitants. ET 13 describes the funeral ceremony held last year (1966) by the Tongus for the late Amuakoto II of Ada and throws light on the Ada-Tongu relations. ET 19 is an account of the installation ceremonies for chiefs which he witnessed at Kpando and Wusuta.

PLANTS MENTIONED IN NKETIA'S "DRUMMING IN AKAN
COMMUNITIES OF GHANA"

In his book Drumming in Akan Communities of Ghana, J.H. Nketia mentions some plants either by the Twi name or by the English names. People who want to read descriptions of these plants in other books may find this collection of the equivalent Twi, English and Botanical names useful. Suitable descriptions may be found in Dalziel's Useful Plants of West Tropical Africa, Irvine's Woody Plants of Ghana and his West African Botany, Keay, Onochie and Stanfield's Nigerian Trees and Taylor's Synecology and Silviculture in Ghana, on which I drew freely in compiling this list.

Question marks indicate uncertain names. A dash shows there is no corresponding name. Twi or English names not given in Nketia's book are shown here in brackets.

INDIVIDUAL RESEARCH REPORTS

32.

| <u>TWI NAME</u> | <u>PAGE</u> | <u>ENGLISH OR TRADE NAME</u> | <u>BOTANICAL NAME</u> |
|--|-------------|---|--|
| Abɛ | 160 | Oil palm | <i>Elaeis guineensis</i> |
| Obofunu = Obua | 12 | - | <i>Napoleona</i> sp. |
| Bontodie | 14 | Cabbage tree | <i>Anthocleista</i> sp. |
| Borodɛ | 169 | Plantain | <i>Musa paradisiaca</i> |
| Obua = Obofunu | 12 | - | <i>Napoleona</i> sp. |
| Ɔdadɛ | 45 | Baobab, monkey bread tree, cream of tartar tree | <i>Adansonia digitata</i> |
| Ɔdan | 5 | - | <i>Piptadeniastrum africanum</i> |
| Odum | 5,46 | (Iroko) | <i>Chlorophora excelsa</i> |
| (Adwɛra) | 45,94 | Watery shrub | <i>Trianthema</i> sp., |
| Ɔfema | 12 | - | <i>Microdesmis puberula</i> |
| Ɔfɛtɛfɛ | 46 | - | <i>Cathormion dinklagei</i> |
| Ofuntum | 46 | (West African Rubber Tree) | <i>Funtumia elastica</i> |
| (Gyama?) | 46 | Coiling branch (lianes) | ? <i>Landolphia</i> sp. |
| Ogyapam | 64 | - | <i>Canthium glabriflorum</i> |
| Akakapempen | 46 | - | ? <i>Rauwolfia vomitoria</i> |
| | | | ? <i>Conophryngia</i> sp., |
| | | | ? <i>Tabernaemontana</i> |
| (Kora, Towa, Bɛntoa) | 71 | Gourd | <i>Lagenaria vulgaris</i> |
| Nkranku | 14 | (Shea butter tree) | <i>Butyrospermum parkii</i> |
| (Onyina) | 46 | Silk cotton | <i>Ceiba pentandra</i> |
| (Mprampuro) | 71 | Bamboo | <i>Oxytenanthera abyssinica</i> |
| Tweneboa, tweneduro, (Twenedua), kyeneduru | 5,14,45 | Cedar | <i>Cordia millenii</i> , <i>C. platythyrsa</i> . |
| Wisa | 83 | Black pepper(Guinea grain) | ? <i>Aframomum melegueta</i> |
| | | | ? <i>Xylopia</i> sp. |
| Ɔyɛɛ | 12 | Cane | <i>Ancistrophyllum</i> sp., |
| | | | ? <i>Calamus</i> sp., <i>Eremophila</i> |

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Dr. E. Laing

THE POPULAR THEATRE IN GHANA

"Come to laugh away your sorrows and hear their latest and charming songs. Make no mistake, but remember the Akompi's Band are the composers and singers of your favourite songs which you hear every morning and afternoon on your radios....."

"Come to laugh when it is time to laugh and cry when it is time to cry. We are prepared to give our fans their moneys worth".
(An extract from a poster of Akompi's Concert Party).

"BRONG/NORTHERN & UPPER REGIONS; Concert fans! Be prepared for acrobatic and wonderful special two-in-one: Super Okubi's and Akwaboa's Guitar Band wonderful display; watch posters carefully. Never miss! " (Daily Graphic, September 28, 1966).

These advertising extracts are a useful and pertinent guide to the popularity of Ghanaian 'Comic Plays' and the extent to which they are enjoyed throughout the country. The extracts are typical of those which appear daily in newspapers and posters about the plays.

It is worth while defining here what we have termed 'Comic Plays'. The past three or four decades have seen phenomenal social and political changes in Africa generally. These changes have brought in their wake, among other things, different types of artistic creation in the form of dance, music and drama! The 'Comic Plays' are a Ghanaian type of popular drama which, despite the acculturative influences they reflect, are African in content and features. They provide one of the commonest and most popular means of entertainment in Ghana today. They are

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1. See J.H. Nketia: Ghana Music, Dance and Drama. Published by the Ghana Information Services and Printed by the State Publishing Corporation (Printing Division) Accra-Tema, Ghana, pp.37-47.

staged by itinerant guitar bands who call themselves 'Concert Parties', 'Trios' etc. and describe their principal actors, who, like the Shakespearean actors of Elizabethan England are all men, as comedians. In keeping with popular usage therefore we have adopted the term 'Comic' to describe the plays which are generally intended to be laughter-provoking. The Comic Plays are comparable with variety entertainment comprising singing, dancing, short plays etc. provided in some night-clubs and musical halls in Britain and the type of entertainment provided by what in the United States of America are called Vaudeville Companies. In fact, our Concert Parties can conveniently be regarded as Ghanaian equivalents of Vaudeville Companies.

Ghanaian comedians have been staging comic plays for well over forty years but of late the plays seem to have become a more lucrative business than they were before and the number of young men and sometimes quite elderly men engaging in them as a full or part-time means of earning their living has been increasing at a remarkable rate. This fact has aroused our interest in the plays and we are engaged on collecting data on them for a sociological study which, it is hoped, will cover such aspects as the history and the themes of the plays, audience's responses to them and their social functions.

One peculiar and distinctive fact about the Comic Plays is that they are not written.¹ This distinguishes them from the traditional Western Plays. The actors rely solely on their memories from the time they begin to learn their parts of the story they are to dramatise right through to its presentation to the general public. This very fact, of course, gives the comedians ample room for necessary adaptation and improvisation.

The actors show ingenuity in the reliance on their memories as well as their construction and adaptation of stories for their plays.

1. Scripts of some of these plays prepared from transcriptions of recordings of the plays are available in the Library of the Institute of African Studies. They include plays by the Ahanta Trio, the Fanti Trio, I.E. Mason's band, Bob Cole's Ghana Trio, Kakaiku's band and E.K.'s Akan Trio No.1

Our enquiries have revealed that when a story which reflects some life problem occurs to a comedian or when he constructs such a story, he gathers his colleagues together and describes it to them. After hearing and satisfying themselves as to the suitability of it for a play, they share its parts for dramatisation. They select appropriate songs and fit them into their parts. Now conversant with the portions of the story they are to act, they meet on several occasions to practise and rehearse the play before critical judges who correct and amend parts as it is rehearsed. In order to make a play meaningful and enjoyable to their audience, the comedians introduce into it local names of places and people and change them according to the locality where the play is being performed.

The Stage Of the Comic Plays

The stage of the Comic Plays stands out as an interesting feature. It varies from a small platform made of boards or cement in the courtyard of a village compound house to the modern stage of a city theatre. The stage is not normally fitted with differently coloured electric lights. Where there is a supply of electricity, a few electric light bulbs hanging on the stage and providing enough light for the actors to be seen clearly by the audience are all that the comedians require. Where there is no supply of electricity, two or three hurricane or Aladdin lamps serve the purpose.

The comedians do not use curtains; theirs is a permanently open stage with a dressing corner usually improvised for the play and dismantled when it is over. The open stage is convenient to the comedians because it suits their acting which sometimes begins right from their dressing corner before they get to the middle of the stage.

Members of the audience sometimes sit along three sides of the stage leaving only the side against the wall. As a matter of fact, occasionally parts of the plays are performed on the ground in the midst of the audience, thus still further encouraging 'involvement' of the audience.

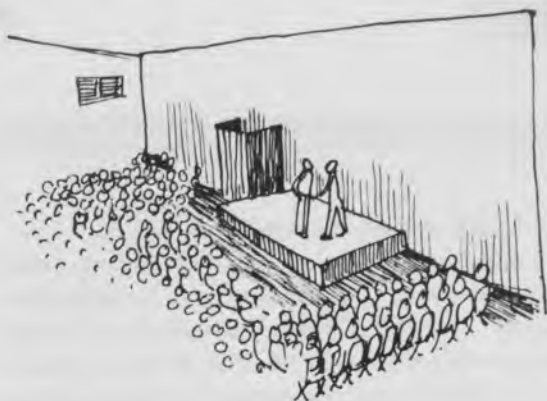
The emotional involvement of the audience in the Comic Plays is one of our important findings in this study. The plays have on their audience emotional effect which is similar to what Aristotle discusses in his Poetics in the theory of Catharsis.¹ In this theory Aristotle examines the emotional effect of Tragedy on its audience and holds that Tragedy enables members of the audience to release repressed emotions like pity and fear and excess of passions. Similarly, our data show that the Comic Plays give the audience a chance to release their emotions and accumulated tensions. In the plays members of the audience are presented with echoes of their own bitter or happy relationships and experiences or of those of their friends. They get the opportunity to purge themselves of the grief which their sad experience caused them or to re-live their happy experiences as the case may be. They feed into the plays the particular emotions and feelings they need or wish to purge. In effect, they attend the plays to find some sort of an internal tranquilizer which the Comic Plays do provide. Some aspects of everyday life are mirrored on to the stage for the audience to be outside observers and at the same time mental participants in the unfolding drama. A woman who witnesses in a play an incident similar to her own agonizing experience bursts into tears and releases painful feelings, accumulated as a result of that experience. She is emboldened in her emotional response to the play by the pity which the echoe of her experience rouses from the audience. We regard this Cathartic effect of the comic plays as one of their latent functions² revealed by the analysis of the available data.

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1. For detailed examination of the theory see F.L. Lucas, Tragedy: Serious Drama in Relation to Aristotle's Poetics (The Hogarth Press London 1957) pp. 35-78.
 2. This is based on Merton's analysis of the concept of function. See Robert Merton: Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Ill: The Free Press, 1957) pp. 19-48.

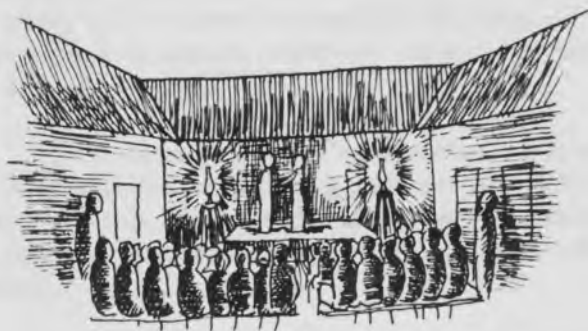
The history and other aspects of the Comic Plays including their other social functions will be examined in subsequent articles. An attempt will also be made to compare the responses given to the Comic Plays with the responses given to Western type of plays.

K.N. Bame .

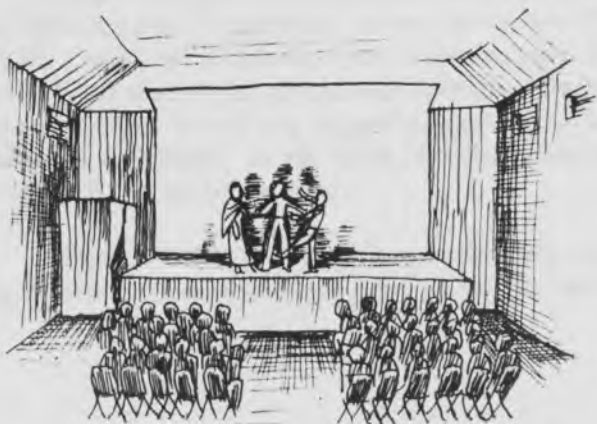
Types of Stage for the Comic Plays



"a small platform made of boards or cement in the courtyard of a village compound house...."
Page 36



"Where there is no supply of electricity, two or three hurricane or Aladdin lamps serve the purpose."
Page 36



"... the modern stage of a city theatre."
Page 36.

THE ANCESTORS IN GHANAIAI RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

In the last Research Review Vol.3 No.1 of 1966, a note was made on the phenomenon of ancestor cult in Ghana and a further examination of it is made here. I mentioned in that note, that life after death is a universal belief in Ghana. The ancestors are supposed everywhere to be the kith and kin of the living who have passed into the world of spirits through physical death. It is necessary to note that Ghanaians distinguish between the spirits of 'the ancestors' and those of people who, because they did not live well or for some reason or the other, did not enter the world of the good. Such bad "spirits" asaman bone or asaman twentwen are not remembered or accorded any acts of reverence.

First, some analysis of reports from a number of the former tribal units called 'states' in Ghana may be useful in giving us more insight into this 'phenomenon' since there has been and are cults of the dead and social behaviour patterns that have been called ancestor worship.

In order to get a picture that could be called fairly universal, as far as Ghana is concerned, the sample examined covers parts of Akanland, Eweland and Adangmeland. (See map).

Explaining the significance of the festivities of their annual first fruit festival Ngmayem. Nene Akrobettoe III, paramount chief of Yilo Krobo, with a number of his elders, said the Ngmayem festival is a time for special sacrifices and libation. There is, of course, the dancing, which is an integral part of most social and religious performances in Ghana. In the main, the festivities help to reunite the living with the invisible dead.

These libations, sacrifices and dancings supplement the day to day reverential behaviour due, and given, to the ancestors. This

constantly revives and strengthens the vital belief in life after death. Like other 'states' in Ghana, the Krobo believe that the departed kin of the living live in the spiritual world which has no geographical location. The world of the ancestors is around or in the solid earth on which human life exists. Libation is poured as the usual way of invoking these ancestral spirits, but the spirits can, nonetheless, be invoked by mere words without the act of libation. As a matter of fact, libation is an art and an act of faith and this is the only reason why it is so common in affairs relating to 'the ancestors'. It is then a validation of what I call the law of use, which has a multiplier effect in the system of belief.

The patterns of behaviour seen in the circumstances which have been called worship of the ancestors, are first and foremost, influenced by the fact that the ancestors are regarded as elders to the living and therefore, must be accorded the familiar respect appropriate in ordinary social relations. The elders are called Nikətəmai or Nimeli. These same names nikətəmai or nimeli are used for the ancestors. The dead nimeli must not be denied their due reverence just because they are physically no more living. If anything, they command more respect and must be taken more seriously, since they are, in their new status, 'spirit'. As spiritual beings, they are capable of interceding for their living kin. They are nearer God, the supreme deity of the universe, than mortal men. Prayers passed through them have a shorter course to traverse to reach God or the superior deities. In this context, the superior deities are the greater spirits canalised by great rivers, trees and unusual phenomena. These spirits are not made by men but God created. Adebəwəi (Adangme) Mebəwədzi (Ga) God created spirits. They come after God in the hierarchy of spirits.

All families, clans, and then the tribes or states have nimeli, and at all the levels, behaviour towards them must be in accordance with the norm; that is, reverence which borders almost on the modern meaning of the word "worship of a deity".

Nene Akrobetto reiterates that the belief is that the ancestors live life similar to that on earth, and the social connection between them and the living is facilitated through the acts of reverence and invocation. The constant remembrance of the ancestors, through acts which have been called worship of the ancestors, helps to promote social solidarity and mutual harmony.

When food and drinks are offered to the ancestors, the idea essentially expresses the awareness that the dead are alive and are allies of the living in the world here and now. It is clearly realized that the spirits do not eat and drink as the living do, and of course, the foods and drinks offered on graves or at shrines may be removed and eaten afterwards. Food and drinks left on graves, mausoleums, ancestral 'shrines' and even in homes for the ancestors are acts of faith and reverence. The acts demonstrate the faith that the dead, the living and the yet unborn are linked together. Hence the food to be eaten by the living must be shared with the dead kin.

Nana Ofori Attah II, and his elders at Kibi had these observations to make. According to them, the Odwira, the Ohum and Adae festivals are not the worship of idols or gods. God is the source of all life and He is regarded as the greatest ancestor of human beings. Saying God is the greatest of ancestors, seems to suggest that the ancestors, contrary to their protestations, are worshipped. This is, however, denied. The ancestral spirits, it is held, are generally the 'elders' of the community that have been translated into the spiritual world.

Their meaning of som or osom, literally service of or to the ancestors, is identical to the som of osom of or to living elders and the great and this is one source of the confusion. Before the stools of the ancestors in the stool room, the chief who is served by his subjects, also serves and shows reverence to the ancestors whom he links with the living. He is Nana - grand dad or ancestor. Here, he is inferior, in relation to the dead chiefs, whose place he occupies.

In the view of the Kibi court, the ancestors need all the special treatment they get from men because they are able to act as interveners for the living. They are spirit and are therefore more able to get for the living the good things of life which, in their view, include prosperity, success in all undertakings, and children. It is believed that by acts of 'worship' - reverence to the ancestral spirits, men are able to present their petitions to God through them. The ancestors consider the petitions and present them to the Supreme Creator on behalf of their mortal living relations. By the acts, proper protection is obtained against evil forces. The ancestors are not by these acts, worshipped as gods but given due respect just as chiefs get their due respect from men on earth, since they are superior to their subjects. As the subordinates appeal to the chief for those good things of life he can supply, so they appeal to the ancestors for their needs which could only be supplied by the 'elders' in their 'superior spiritual plane of existence.' As through som (service) of the chief, the subjects implore their chief for help so through the som (worship) of the ancestors, petitions are passed on to God. We have, they say, total faith in the spirit ancestors for they established sound foundations for us and we are inheritors of their endeavours.

At Peki, a council of elders said that on festival days, special libation is poured and other acts of reverence performed in relation to the ancestors for their commemoration. A sheep may be slaughtered and the blood sprinkled on ancestral stools. The symbolic act of sprinkling blood on the stools helps to remind the living that they are or must be cleansed. At the Adae(s) - meaning (the sleeps) all the ancestors, and principally all the chiefly ones are specially remembered. The people of Peki like the Adas and, indeed many Ghanaians, believe that the land they occupy belongs to the ancestors who fought and won it for them. Hence these ancestors, therefore, qualify for special homage.

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1. Informants: Abusuapanyin (Clan head), Gidi Mensah, Gyasehene (the chief of the King's palace) Addo Donkor Tuafohene (Advance guard) Akotia III and G.V. Amoa, Esq.

Here again, the ancestors are believed to be mediators. They are not gods. At the same time one of their maxims is "Sɛ wonnim wagya a, ɛmmɔwo Nana a ɔwoo wagya din." If you do not know the name of your father, do not mention the name of the ancestor who bore your father. The implication is that one cannot say one can reach God, if one does not even know one's dead kin - the ancestors - in other words, one cannot know God without knowing one's own neighbour.

Similar sentiments are expressed by the chief and linguist of Akwamu Kwanyako, Nana Anyanful and Kofi Aye respectively.

The evidence of Barfoo Afari Darko III of Afi near New Tafa categorically points out that the Obuo (respect) or Osuro (fear) or Osom (worship) of the ancestors stem from the fact that they are regarded as mediators between the lineage and the Supreme God. The belief in re-incarnation, the people say, makes it impossible that the ancestors whose spirits come back into the world through other people could be gods to be worshipped.

Nana Kwame Fori, ɔmahene of Akuapem had a mixed story to tell but the one thing came out clearly and that is, the ancestors are, in Akropong, not regarded as Anyame (gods). They are part and parcel of the people. They are different only in the sense that they are invisible and are, through their transition into the spiritual world, able to be of spiritual help to their living kin. They can, of course, be harmful, if they become dissatisfied with the living. They do this by withdrawing their protection from their living kin, thus rendering them very vulnerable to all sorts of ills. This is why the living honour them and ask them reverently to continue to bestow goodness on them whom they have left behind to continue the race.

The Adangme and Ga of Ghana hold similar views. Before their contact with the Akans of the forest principally in the 15th and 16 centuries, the Adangme and the Ga had, in the main, priest leaders

instead of the political chiefs they have today. Even in these tribes, the idea that the ancestors are worshipped is rejected. There is, however, confusion in the minds of some functioning priests at times and the ancestors are sometimes ranked with the other gods. Nene Lanimo Opata, of Shai, and Nene Dake of Ada, Nene Aninle of Osudoku, Nene Anorkwei of Prampram hold the view that the ancestors form a hard core of the forces through whom we secure our social cohesion, continuity, and blessings. They become in addition to other things, a mechanism of social control.

No less important are the ancestors to the people of Ho in the Volta region. Here, however, the part of the sacrificial meat that is left to the ancestors, according to my informant¹, are the remnants, mainly, the bones. Even so, it appears the real function of the act of leaving bones on the graves or on sites supposed to be visited by the ancestors has been misconstrued by my informant, since he thinks only the bones are good for the ancestors, since they are dead.

The essential point really to be noted is that, people of this part of Ewe country do realise that the ancestors have some functional role in the lives of the living; although to them, 'God created' spirits are the real forces that matter most. They believe very much in the world of magic and man made charms too.

All these evidences lead us only to a point in our attempt to understand the acts which constitute what we have called ancestor worship. The manifest and latent functions have been taken one for the other in many cases. In some cases, the real meaning of the acts are not known. The officials follow a tradition, and that is all they know.

1. Togbe Afede Asor II, Paramount chief of Ho Asogli traditional area.

If by worship we mean great honour paid to anyone, then the term ancestor worship is very apt in the description of the acts involved in the cult. We have noted elsewhere that linguistically, som(Akan) Dzamo (Ga) Dzam (Adangme) Subo subo (Ewe) may mean worship which is honour paid to a great one or service and reverence. The same terms in the various languages have come to mean the type of behaviour we expect from men to God or His 'lieutenants'.

Of course, when we say "your worship" in the modern magistrate's court in Ghana, it does not mean we want to think of the magistrate as a god. It is a term of reverence. The overtones, in the practices of ancestor worship, however, suggest that there is something more to them than mere show of respect and awe. This is undoubtedly so, but it seems it cannot be said without reservations, that libation and all the features of the cult of ancestors in Ghana are acts of religious worship.

Again, the question of what is religion stares us in the face. It is rather too vague in this discussion. Going by Taylor's minimal definition - belief in spiritual beings "ancestor worship could still be an appropriate term but the definition is only minimal and not a standard one. It may be correct to think of ancestor-worshipping tribe as one in which the members feel a sense of dependence on the ancestors who begot them. In this, the sense of dependence on these beings or powers superior to man, may be viewed as an engagement in something religious. Definitely, the awareness of men of their ancestors provides a sanction on morality and conduct, and aids the smooth functioning of the community. The fear of the ancestors, and so the constant vigilance of people to respect the norms of the community may be labelled as being a feature of religion. This, the field material being collected does not seem to support. Ancestor reverence may be a means of social control, but social control is not all religion oriented.

As we have seen, the belief in the existence of the ancestors is very real in Ghana and many who have accepted other world religions do still believe in the importance of their ancestors. In a study of the

Lakpa³ - the principal deity of the people of Labadi, the question was seriously raised why certain people who do not worship 'idols' (referring to those who believe in the existence of the Lakpa) should be barred from participating in Christian worship and rituals. What was bothering the people was that, there is now a strong feeling that the position of those who believe in the Lakpa is misunderstood. In the same way as most Ghanaian Christians believe in the existence of their ancestors and the help they are able to give by way of interceding for them, so they who are debarred from the Church are not idol worshippers but believers in the spirit of the ancestors. The destruction of this belief has not been effective and it is believed that where its destruction succeeds, it will do so at the expense, and disruption, of the life and community. Busia⁴ suggests that moral and sexual laxity and weakening or ineffectiveness of moral sanctions of the community results where the belief in the ancestors and what they mean is destroyed among an 'ancestor worshipping' community.

A quick look at the core of Christian ideas of life after death seem not to be diametrically opposed to the Ghanaian belief in the eternal existence of their dead kin. Where the two systems of belief part ways is a matter of doctrinal details.

The belief in the hosts of past witnesses - the church invisible - who join the faithful living saints at love feasts and at the sacramental table are, to the Ghanaian, akin to the belief in the 'faithful ancestors'. Again the Christian does not believe that those of the invisible Christ's Church slay their client's adversaries. The Old Testament belief in this is similar, of course, to the belief of the ordinary Ghanaian, who when he is praying to his ancestors asks among other things, vengeance on his adversaries.

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3. The Lakpa - Unpublished paper. Draft in the Library of the Institute of African Studies, Legon (A.K. Quarcoo).
 4. Readings for Comparative Religion. The social function of Ancestor worship among the people of the Gold Coast. K.A. Busia.

Some of the material things which have been pointed at as evidence of the Cult of the ancestors being ancestor worship are the ancestor shrines and figures. It is pertinent to note that for most Ghanaians, a sculptured wooden or mud image is neither an idol nor image of God. Images may, after proper observations and ceremonies sometimes, be a medium for a spirit. Spirits are of many kinds - and may be spirits of natural powers - the earth, lightning, sun and moon, and, of course, there are the spirits of the ancestors. Figures which are called ancestral, satisfy deeply rooted psychological needs.⁵ Such figures range from forked sticks, which are called "spirit sticks" or "fathers", or Nyamedua (God's tree) to mud or wood sculpture of human forms.

Ancestral figures may be compared in many respects, to the figures of the saints in some Christian Churches and cathedrals. The figures could be regarded, even as the Roman Catholic figures were classified about 1550-1660 by the council of Trent as biblia : idiota - the books or Bible of the illiterate. In the context of ancestor figures, we may say they are items of visual aid for the living.

In this note on the ancestors, an attempt is being made to draw attention to this dimension of ancestor cult which points to the fact that the ancestors may not necessarily be objects of worship as gods by the methods used.

It is important to note, however, that there are many people who believe they are actually worshipping their ancestors everywhere in the tribes mentioned earlier on. This, from investigation, stems from the fact that ancestor cult has traditionally been accepted by people, and the real essence of it and rational assessment of the reasons for the practices and for participation in them have never been attempted by them. Those

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5. Forked sticks - in Lodagaaba - Jack Goody
 Nyamedua - Akan
 Mud figures - in parts of Adangme.

who know think it is all for the better if people think they are "worshipping" their ancestors and so do the things they should do with the requisite diligence and decorum. It is necessary then to bear this in mind in any field research on the purpose and significance of the practices that have been called ancestor worship in Ghana. There is the need, in looking at this phenomenon, for patient participant observation and analysis of both overt actions and psychological reactions. The whole of community life in the tribes mentioned in this paper have unifying sentiments and most of these sentiments are enshrined in religion which pervades all activities. Reverence for the ancestors and activities which help to keep men constantly aware of them, their deeds, their spirituality and, therefore, their ability to intercede for the living, take on, in many cases, a religious flavour. This is ascertainable from a study of the cosmologies of many tribal units in Ghana. Generally, there is the great Onyame (Twi) Ataa-Naa Nyome (mother-father God) (Ga), Mau (Adangme), Mawu (Ewe). From the supreme being, the Creator, is derived all power, life and energy. The creator is the Universal, vital force. All things come from Him, and the real essence of things is made up of energy and power given them by the Creator.

It is this view and interpretation of things, which make the exact significance of many ceremonial, reverential or religious behaviour patterns not discreetly identifiable. Performances related to ancestors are in Ghana very alive. Very many Ghanaian Christians believe in the existence of the ancestors, which it appears, is not incompatible with the teachings they have accepted. Maybe, it should rather have a complementary effect. The practice of 'costly' memorial services⁶ appears

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6. Some Christian denominations notably the Presbyterians and the Methodist to a lesser extent attempted to ban these memorial services in the last decade but failed hopelessly. Now most denominations exploit the situation to collect money for church work. No elaborate exclusive sermons are however preached for the bereaved, anyway.

to be a carry-over from the traditional elaborate funeral observances.

The suggestion, which needs to be examined, with a background of a little more field work, is that Ghanaians do not necessarily deify OR WORSHIP THEIR ANCESTORS. They believe the ancestors are spiritual beings. They are kith and kin of the living. They care for their welfare. They desire that the living should live well, according to the norms of the society, which they (the ancestors) helped to establish. They intercede for the living but withdraw from men when men do the things which they ought not to do. Belief in the ancestors, therefore, is a sanction on morality. What is principally involved in ancestor 'worship' is reverence to the ancestors. As often as the practices are observed, they are done in remembrance and reverence of men's kith and kin in the spiritual world.

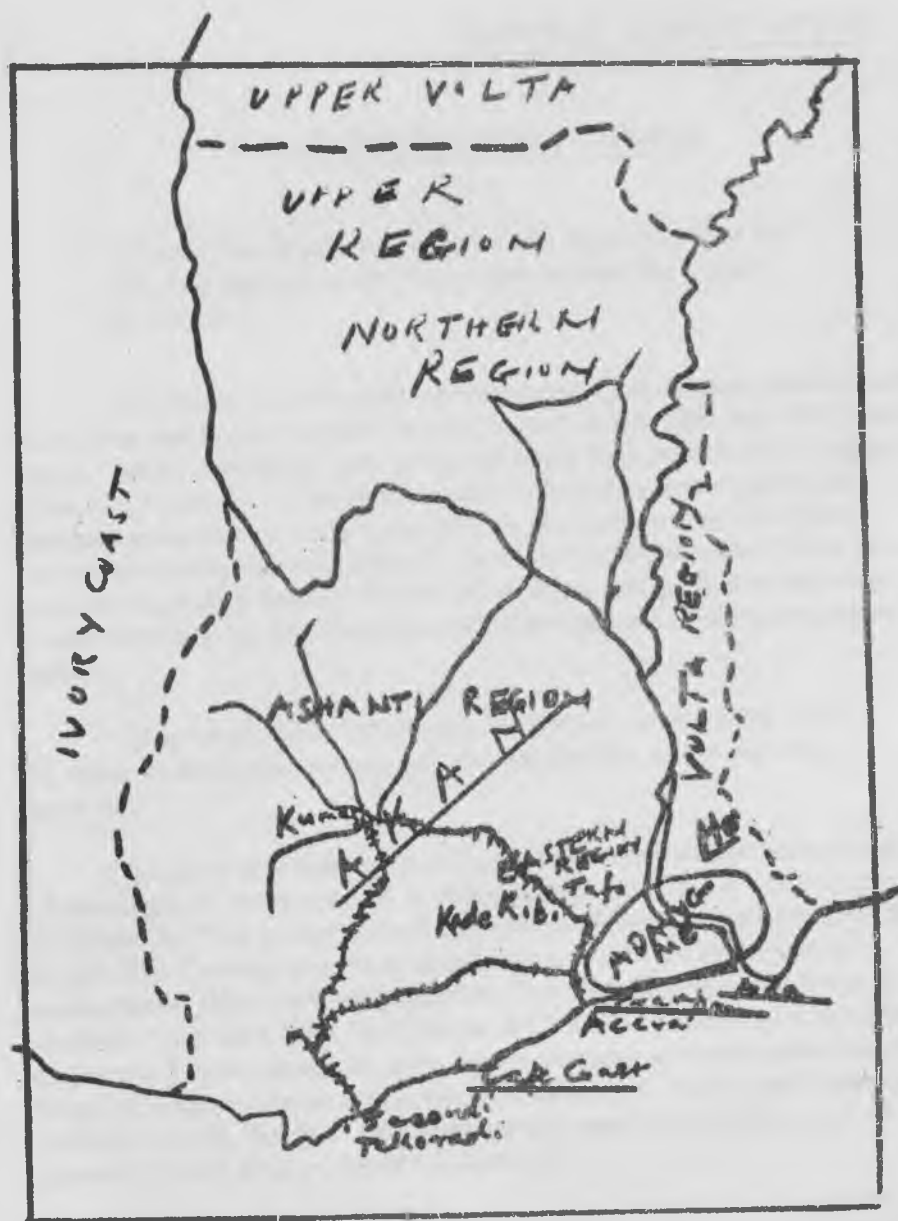
The ancestors, in summary, occupy a special place in Ghanaian 'society'. From data so far, I suspect to describe the relationship between Ghanaians and the ancestors as 'ancestor worship' robs the relationship of the 'human character' that is paramount. The data we have examined suggests that Ghanaians think of their ancestors as the invisible part of the lineage even as Christians think of the Church invisible as part and parcel of the living saints. The ancestors are, then not worshipped but honoured. Victor Uchendu suggested this from his study of the Igbo of Southern Nigeria but he also said the ancestral honour was a type of a religion.

He writes 'They (the ancestors) are not worshipped, but honoured for their social status in the spiritual world, and more for leaving their children land on which the subsistence and other social achievements of the living are based. The ancestral honour is a religion based on reciprocity. There is loving reverence for the deceased ancestors, who are expected to come back to reincarnate and "do the living members what they did for them".'

What he exactly means by saying the honour of the ancestors is a religion based on reciprocity is not very clear but the rest of his discussion seems to point to the fact that he could not mean by his religion, that social behaviour in which God or gods are postulated, prayed to and worshipped. His finding about the honour for the ancestors among the Igbo is similar, if not almost identical to the case in Ghana.

This, however, means a number of things. It cannot be said that all the practices involved in ancestor reverence everywhere in Ghana will continue to stand, in spite of the trends of the cultural change, but the persistence of the belief derives from the real essence of the cult; namely honour and reverence of the dead kin who are, spirit-beings capable of interceding for, and giving favour or disfavour to the living.

A.K. Quarcoo.



100 miles

MASQUERADE SOCIETIES IN GHANA

"I heard the drums coming down the street and then the fifes and the pipes and they came around the corner, all dancing." ¹

It is likely that the idea of masquerading in Ghana was borrowed from European traders resident on the 'coast' in the 18th and 19th Centuries. Fever, isolation, heat and gold made them tend to drink rather often and to revel at the least excuse. Their Christmas parties for example made such a deep impression on the natives that that feast was consequently named "Buronya". In Fante the word means 'The white man has it good' (literally 'The white man has got'). Today that term is used not only by the Fantes but all Akans as well as some non-Akan tribes.

At some of these "White-man's" parties, masks were worn. As mask wearing was unknown to the natives the effect was tremendous.

An old Fante informant of Kumasi gave me a different account of the origin of masquerading in this country. He says it was brought to Ghana by 'Saa Loofo' (Sierra Leonians). Sierra Leone in the middle of the 19th Century was made up of only a few tiny settlements of emancipated slaves and neighbouring "hostile" natives. But there is evidence that from 1822 Sir Charles M'Carthy as Governor of the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone, brought over companies of West Indian troops then stationed in Sierra Leone into this country to help check Ashanti invasions of the South. This arrangement continued till the sack of Kumasi in 1874 by Sir Garnet Wolseley.²

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1. Ernest Hemingway: "The Snows of Kilimanjaro and other stories". Penguin, p.119
 2. Walton Claridge: A history of the Gold Coast and Ashanti.

As people from the Carribean, it is likely that these soldiers had some idea of carnivals. Indeed it is possible that they held carnivals of some sort while here. There was the regimental band to provide the music. They could make all the costumes they needed from material bought from the forts. Gin was cheap and plentiful.

Everything points in the direction of the West Indian troops as the likeliest, referred to as the "Saa Loofo". In any case the fact remains that masquerading as it is today was not known or practised in this country at least in Southern Ghana in pre-colonial times.

It must be said though that for many tribes in our neighbouring countries of the Ivory Coast and Niger, masks and masquerading formed an important aspect of their culture.

Most Ghanaian cities, towns and even some villages, have masquerade societies, particularly places with large colonies of Fantes. Kumasi has three such societies - Red Cross, Prince of Wales and Cosmos. Smaller groups appear from time to time but are short lived. Winneba and Saltpond are said to have some very active societies. Their members include some prominent persons besides the usual Young men and boys.

Masquerade Societies in Ghana are exclusively men's Societies. It is their custom to hold turn-outs at the principal feasts of the Christian year - Christmas and Easter. Although I have known the Kumasi based societies to hold up to five turn-outs besides the Christmas and Easter outings.

The turn-out is a procession through the streets of a city, town or village by members masquerade societies. They wear dresses which correspond with their masks. A band, often a loud brass orchestra brings up the rear. Sometimes the music is provided by a band of fifes and drums. Some are content with just percussion. One popular tune of the masqueraders is "Abamo" which runs thus:

$$\frac{2}{4} \quad || \text{ s|d:d d|t:-|ss:s d|-||$$

$$|| \text{ s|d:m d|t:-|ss:s d|-||$$

The masqueraders dance energetically with varied and rhythmic movement to the music of the bands. Many spectators especially children can't help joining in the dance. As the masqueraders dance, the procession moves slowly on through the streets. They stop at houses and sometimes enter compounds. They continue their performance in these compounds and are given presents almost always in cash. One member collects the money in a sealed wooden box which has a slot at the top through which coins and paper money are dropped.

MASKS (Character)

For outings, members dress up as one of the following three kinds of characters:-

- (1) imitation or caricature of particular people
- (2) animals
- or (3) nondescript human faces.

An example of caricature was the double-life-size likeness of Neville Chamberlain (the pre-war Prime Minister of Britain) towering head and shoulders over the procession with a top hat and a high collar. (fig.1). An example of the animal masks which I once saw was a huge cockerell (fig.2) as big as a small car, who used to career up and down the procession. He would sway dangerously as he went, seemingly falling over. There was also a frightful gorilla. His mask was the type which covers the entire head of the wearer. To match the mask, he wore coarse woollen overalls complete with stuffed tail. The effect was fantastic - I later discovered that real gorillas did not have tails at all! That tail, however, added something to the appearance of the evil-looking bogey (fig.3). The nondescript and expressionless human-face masks form a majority of masks at the turn-out. The faces are usually painted pink. Pale faces therefore dominate the procession.

There are occasional attempts by members to be creative. A horse-less cowboy, a Roman Soldier in armour-plate of painted cardboard or a fetish priest. A comical figure was that of the conservancy boy with his bucket atop his head and his short broom in his hand (fig.4).

High above the whole turn-out often, is the stilt-walker 'Sakrabudu'. He walks or rather dances on stilts 12 feet to 24 feet high. His mask is always a plain pale-face one. (fig.5)

MASKS(Technical)

Masquerade Societies use two types of masks, the cast (papier mache) type and the wire net type.

The Cast Type: Usually imported, it is cast from a mould using pulp paper and then painted in the appropriate colours. Some are made to cover the head completely and others just the face. In some cases it covers nearly the whole body as for example the cockerel which covers up to the wearer's knees.

I was told in Kumasi that a young man of Obuasi locally produced some good cast masks in the forties. Although he took the trouble to tour places where he was likely to get customers, patronage was not encouraging. He soon went out of business.

The Wire-Netting Type

They are made from the $\frac{1}{12}$ " - $\frac{1}{10}$ " mesh used domestically to prevent insects from entering houses. Cut to size, the netting is then pressed and moulded with the fingers into shape: eyes, nose, mouth, cheeks, chin and forehead. The mask is then edged with cloth or a piece of soft metal sheeting. It is given as usual a coat of pink paint all over. The eyes are picked out in white for the balls and black



Men in mask

Fig. 1



Man in

Fig. 2

Kedjanyi



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6

Kadjanu



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9

(after L.L.R. Meyerowitz)

for the pupils. Black lines define the eye-lids and red is used for the lips. Moustaches usually the 'Errol Flynn type' is painted on the upper lip. On the whole, the finish gives these masks an appearance of effeminate pale-facedness even where it is meant to portray a male face with moustache or not. (fig.6)

COSTUME

Some masks call for particular types of costume. The gorilla wore an overall of dark brown woollen material, with tail. The cockerel mentioned above, also wore a pair of tightfitting trousers with scale-markings painted on them. His legs sticking out of the huge mask looked like the legs of a giant bird! Most masqueraders wear gay fancy-print cotton shirts and trousers. The shirts have frills of calico along the sleeves, around the chest and back, and along the collars. Some of these collars are really capes. The trousers too have frills along the legs. The complete suit except for texture and prints has the appearance of Red Indian costume without headgear. (fig.7)

ACCESSORIES

Most masqueraders carry horse tail whisks (Bodua) in addition to a stick or cane for the purpose of keeping children outside the procession. Each member wears a badge. Some have feathers stuck in their headgear and wear castanets which they 'clink' in time with the music

LOCAL INFLUENCES

Naturally from the days of the "revelling Coasters" and the Carribean troops, masquerading has acquired a considerable amount of local characteristics. This is evident in the variety of characters portrayed: fetish priest, conservancy boy, and market mammy (impersonated by a man. These men are often so muscular and stiff that

they rouse a feeling of revulsion rather than of admiration). Another local addition is the Sakrabudu (stilt-walker). The term Sakrabudu now associated with stilt-walking was originally the name of a god. Austen Freeman relates his experience of a dance performed for this god in 1898, at Odumasi (Sunyani Dumasi?), "enveloped from head to foot in a covering of... soft fibre and... a huge wooden mask in the semblance of an antelope's head surmounted by a pair of curved horns. The mask was painted red and white...." (fig. 8)

The priest referred to, held two long sticks while dancing. These represented the fore-legs of the antelope whose mask he wore. (see fig. 9). Possibly these sticks came to be associated with the stilts of the stilt-walkers and the name of the god or his dance became associated with stilt-walking.

The dance of the procession too is of course the highlife, the dance 'par excellence' of Ghana. The opening music is usually a march, then the catchy tunes I have referred to. At nightfall the turn-out closes again with the same march, which is the signature tune of the society. The only other type of dance besides the high-life is the Atwem, a fast Asafo dance which is performed occasionally to relieve the monotony.

Now-a-days, masquerading in Ghana seems to be on the wane. This is partly due to the presence of more amenities for recreation during holidays. Travel too has become easy, therefore more people work outside their home-towns. There is so much movement at holiday times that it is difficult to organise turn-outs.

1. "A fetish dance". R.A. Freeman in 'Travels and life in Ashanti and Jaman, 1898', from Pageant of Ghana by Freda Wolfson, p.195.

However, in some towns despite these difficulties societies are still very active. Winneba is one of such towns. The enthusiasm of the people of Winneba for masquerading is such that the various societies hold competitions at turn-outs. Awards are made to the society which presents the best turn-out.

I believe that T.V., Radio and the press of Ghana can do something to put a new life into Masquerading today. They can give effective publicity of the activities of these societies in order to make people more aware of one of our sources of entertainment which is now faced with possible extinction.

J. Kedjanyi.

A NOTE ON THE ROLE OF THE FATHER'S SISTER
IN DAGBON

Tait has pointed out¹ that the most common sorcery accusations in Dagbon fall within the household and that the relative most feared as a sorcerer, or as one who may pray to her ancestors to remove protection from a victim in the same descent group, is the father's sister the 'pirba' and that the most common victims are young men. In stating these observations Tait regretted that he was unable to give any quantitative evidence. He also remarked that it is old widows who are the most frequently accused group of people and they are often cared for by relatives who are classed as their 'brothers' or 'sons', but who may have previously seen little of these relatives. The tensions in such a system, he says, are apparent.

Quantitative evidence and observation show that he has raised an interesting question. Here I wish to make the point that socialization is one important factor generating the existing tensions in the father's sister - brother's child relationship.

Analysis of household censuses proves that the sisters of many compound heads do indeed reside within their households playing the role of 'pirba' to their children. In a sample of over fifty compounds 43% were found to have full or classificatory resident female siblings of the male heads. Moreover many girls are brought up by their father's sisters and not by their own mothers. These are functions of two important features of Dagomba family custom one is that divorced, widowed and separated women typically tend to reside with a brother and that it is customary for a woman to raise one of her brother's daughters and for a man to raise one of his sister's sons. Genealogies recorded show that it is very common for one or more of a man's daughter to be raised by his sister. Whether as the senior woman in her brother's compound, where she takes precedence in domestic affairs over his wives, or as the educator of his brother's daughter in her husband's compound, the 'pirba' plays a significant role as a socialising agent.

Children's responses concerning the relatives with whom they are emotionally and socially involved also support this observation that the father's sister plays an important role in the lives of her brother's children, the major social and emotional involvement with kin outside the nuclear family is with her. (see Table below) Seven per-cent of the children concerned replied that she was kind and loved and that social interaction with her was frequent, but only two per cent said that they sought her company during their holidays or that they enjoyed being with her. Rather thirty per cent of all replies stating positive dislike for a variety of reasons were directed against her.

Here then we have some quantitative evidence supporting the observations that the father's sister is present in a considerable number of households and that she is also the object of much kin-directed dislike. ' But that this dislike is simply because she is considered an 'economic burden' upon the young men of the household as Tait suggests (op cit) seems unlikely. The antagonism appears to be present before the young people are of an age to shoulder much economic responsibility and to be engendered in the early socialization process, when she is likely to play a significant role in the child's upbringing.

1. A sorcery Hunt in Dagomba D. Tait. Africa April 1963.

TABLE
SCHOOL CHILDREN'S ATTITUDES TOWARDS THEIR
RELATIVES

An analysis of the replies of 93 Dagomba middle school children to questions concerning their relatives. The number included 61 boys and 32 girls.

| Kin | Loved | Kind | enjoy company of | like to spend holi- days with | TOTAL Favourable replies | Respected | Disliked | Total emotional responses | Worked for | Taught by | Seen Often | Total replies about social interaction |
|-------|-----------|-----------|---------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------|-----------|------------------------------|------------|-----------|------------|--|
| F | 30 | 35 | 42 | 33 | 34 | 50 | 2 | 30 | 48 | 37 | 26 | 34 |
| M | <u>34</u> | <u>27</u> | <u>23</u> | <u>28</u> | <u>28</u> | <u>27</u> | 1 | <u>18</u> | <u>19</u> | <u>30</u> | <u>37</u> | <u>28</u> |
| Sib | <u>7</u> | <u>12</u> | <u>23</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>13</u> | <u>3</u> | 30 | <u>13</u> | <u>13</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>11</u> | <u>11</u> |
| F'ss | 7 | <u>7</u> | <u>4</u> | 2 | <u>5</u> | 3 | <u>30</u> | 13 | <u>4</u> | 7 | <u>9</u> | <u>7</u> |
| MsB | 6 | 6 | 4 | 12 | 7 | 8 | <u>8</u> | 8 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 5.5 |
| GF | 5 | 3 | 2 | 9 | 5 | 2 | 6.5 | 4 | 4 | 9 | 2 | 5.5 |
| GM | 6 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 3 |
| FsrB | 3 | 1.5 | | 4 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1.5 | 2 | | | 1.5 |
| FjrB | 1 | 4 | | | 1.9 | 3 | 10 | 5 | 1 | | 3 | 2.5 |
| MsrS | 1 | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 1 | <u>1</u> | 5 | 1 | | 1 | 1.5 |
| MjrS | | 5 | | | 1 | | 6.5 | 2 | | | 1 | 5 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

The analysis of these replies appears to give a clear indication as to which relatives play the most significant role in the children's lives and their positive, negative or ambivalent attitudes towards them. Reasons given

NOTES

61.

for liking relatives included sending to school and giving uniforms, money, books, food. Reasons for disliking relatives included beating, abuse, jealousy and witchcraft (in the last case the accused was a father's sister).

Note:

The term 'pirba' refers to full and classificatory sisters of the father. Observation indicates that the more distantly related father's sisters are the more likely to be accused of witchcraft (personal communication. T. Sulemana).

C. Oppong

FURTHER NOTES ON GHANA'S XYLOPHONE
TRADITIONS

In a previous note in this journal¹ I drew attention to evidences of musicality and musicianship among the Lobi and the Dagaba, two of the ethnic groups carrying xylophone traditions in Ghana. In the succeeding paragraphs I offer a description - not a solution - of a problem that would confront anyone who might make a study of these traditions.

In northwest Ghana, the area to which xylophone making and playing belong in Ghana and its immediate neighbourhood, the following ethnic groups must be counted among those who carry and sustain this tradition: Lobi, Wangara, Dagaba, and Sisala. The problem to be solved reveals itself in a number of questions: (1) Are these ethnic groups related in some way? (2) Can anyone of these be rightly regarded as the radiating centre for the xylophone traditions? (3) Which of them is likely to be the one? (4) Did this group originate the instrument? (5) If it is not an autochthonous group, did its first immigrant ancestors possess the instrument?

If answers to these questions could be found important lessons would be provided for those concerned with the origins of the African xylophone² as well as for those concerned with the histories and cultures of the peoples of Ghana and its neighbourhood. The solution of the problem of origin concerning the xylophone in Ghana would require data from many different sources: from internal evidence as well as evidence external to repertoires, and from a comparative study of oral traditions and constructional and performing techniques. This data is not altogether available yet, and it must be given time to grow.

1. "Musicality and Musicianship North West Ghana" Research Review Vol.2 No.1 Michaelmas Term 1965 pp.42-45.
2. (a) Rev. A.M. Jones. "Indonesia and Africa: The xylophone as a Culture-Indicator" in African Music vol.2 No.3 (Roodepoort; 1960) pp.36-47.
(b) M.D.W. Jeffreys. "Negro Influences on Indonesia" in African Music vol.2 No.4; 1961 pp.10-16.

In the meantime relevant data that have become available can be put together and the gaps and the possibilities they hold can be indicated. One point to be borne in mind is the mixture and the constant influx of peoples in northwest Ghana. A district commissioner writes in the 1921 census Report of Ghana (page 132) "there is often no clear distinction between tribes. For instance Lobis, Dagartis (i.e. Dagaba), Isalas, and Grunshis are very mixed up, and the inhabitants of many compounds might with propriety be counted under either head or as a combination of both". Rattray also throws a hint on the fluidity of societies in this area. Writing in the early 1930's about the Lobi, he said, "Their real habitat is across this river (the Black Volta), in the Ivory Coast, whence members of the tribe are migrating to British Territory (Ghana) in ever increasing numbers."¹

Conducive conditions for the inflow of musical traditions and the borrowing and adaptation of musical ideas are thus in existence in northwest Ghana. These conditions are reflected in the variety of xylophones and xylophone tunings.² The Sisala have the largest xylophones, with seventeen keys held over a frame rising to about 2½ feet from the ground at its highest end and to about one foot at the lowest end. The side of its highest end is often covered with basket work made with leather straps woven over wooden spokes. The instrument has the same tuning as the 17 keyed instrument of the Dagaba, a slightly smaller instrument used in pairs. According to Sazu Ninkara, a famous Lo-Birifu xylophone maker, the Dagaba xylophone may have as many as 20 keys, but 17 is the more usual number. Like the Sisala instrument the Dagaba xylophone is sometimes, but not usually given a basket-work shield.

The Lobi also make a xylophone tuned in the same way as the Sisala and the Dagaba instruments. But theirs is a much smaller instrument and has 14 keys. They call it the gyilgu when in general use and Kogyil when used at funeral (kuol).

1. Rattray, Capt. R.S. The Tribes of the Ashanti Hunterland Vol.II (Oxford: Clarendon Press; 1932) p.425.

2. See the tunings and the scale intervallic structures on the next page.

The Lobi possess two other xylophone types. The Losala, i.e. those Lobi domiciled in the Lawra area, use a large 14-keyed xylophone called Gyilmə which they tune differently and always use in pairs. These are larger instruments than the gyilgu, but not as large as the Dagaba type. The gyilmə is used at funerals, at spirit possession (Boɣbenɛ) dances and at preharvest (soɛr) dances, - dances whose songs mostly use twelve of the fourteen keys. The Lobrifor xylophone, called Bogyil, also has 14 keys two of which are regarded as bad keys and are never used. It is always used in a pair, at spirit possession and other social dances.

These xylophone types and tunings cannot, unfortunately be used as identification marks. The Lobrifu, users of the Bogyil - the 14-keyed instrument with two "bad" ones also use the kogyil or Gyilgu (the 14-good-keyed xylophone). The Wangara, speaking a language completely unintelligible to the Lobi, also use these two instruments. The Dagaba and the Sisala, two other groups speaking different languages, can also communicate musically on their two xylophone types. But the Dagaba and the Lobrifor who speak mutually intelligible dialects cannot always communicate in music. When the Brifor plays his Bogyil, the Dagawo (singular of Dagaba) cannot enjoy it, because the tuning - i.e. the scale - is different. On the other hand the Miiwə-Lobi around Gawə - the Lobi capital in Upper Volta, and the Miiwə-Lobi in northern Ivory Coast who speak a different language from the Lobrifor of Ghana, share with them the same xylophone tunings, musical repertoires and dances.

Thus what is suggested in the music is refuted in the linguistic situation. Musical traditions suggest, for instance, that the Sisala and the Dagaba must be ethnically related; their linguistic disunity suggests that we have no sufficient evidence in the music to draw such a conclusion. The difficulty is a real one; for one cannot dismiss either the conflicting musical evidence or the linguistic evidence and conclude that two groups with identical forms of one or the other must be ethnically related. The evidence before us does not suggest that the inertia of linguistic forms is more critical than that of musical forms or vice versa. In other words, we have not the means in the

LOBI XYLOPHONE TUNINGS

(The Kogyil Tuning is used also by the Dagaba and the Sisala)

| KEYS NUMBERED FROM THE LOWEST NOTE | KOGYIL OR GYLIGU | | BOGYIL | | GYILMO | |
|--|------------------|-------|--------|-------|--------|-------|
| | CPS | CENTS | CPS | CENTS | CPS | CENTS |
| 1 | 106 | 214 | 110 | 367 | 82 | 308 |
| 2 | 120 | 316 | 136 | 447 | 98 | 119 |
| 3 | 144 | 241 | 150 | 213 | 105 | 343 |
| 4 | 166 | 220 | 198 | 304 | 128 | 228 |
| 5 | 188 | 208 | 236* | - | 146 | 222 |
| 6 | 212 | 243 | 236 | 369 | 166 | 323 |
| 7 | 244 | 263 | 292 | 92 | 200 | 101 |
| 8 | 284 | 270 | 308 | 418 | 212 | 406 |
| 9 | 332 | 215 | 392 | - | 268 | 195 |
| 10 | 376 | 208 | 392* | 292 | 300 | 154 |
| 11 | 424 | 299 | 464 | 374 | 328 | 326 |
| 12 | 504 | 231 | 576 | 116 | 396 | 151 |
| 13 | 576 | 246 | 616 | 364 | 432 | 321 |
| 14 | 664 | | 760 | | 520 | |

available data to judge whether music or language is the more permanent heritage. There are adjacent neighbours in our examples which have retained divergent musical traditions against a common linguistic background, as there are also adjacent neighbours which have retained distinctive languages against a common background of musical traditions.

We are thus unable yet to resolve the first point in our five-point problem. The difficulties here are not necessarily insoluble. There are yet wide unexplored fields which might offer clues. But the present difficulties are valuable pointers to the danger of proclaiming links and ascribing origins too soon in comparative studies of this kind.

A.A. Mensah.

A NOTE ON AKAN-CENTRED LINGUISTIC ACCULTURATION

Loanwords from the Akan (Twi-Fante) language are found in great abundance in most if not all other southern Ghanaian languages, but loanwords from other southern Ghanaian languages are rare in Akan. This, of course, is related to the fact that Akan is widely used as a lingua franca by speakers of the other southern Ghanaian languages, whereas none of the other southern Ghanaian languages is widely used by the speakers of Akan: it is common for speakers of one language to borrow into their own language items from a second language which they use as a lingua franca. The position of the other southern Ghanaian languages in relation to Akan may be compared with the position of Akan in relation to English: English is widely used as a lingua franca by speakers of Akan, and Akan has borrowed heavily from English.

The extent to which a language is used as a lingua franca is important as evidence of the extent of the prestige of its speakers. It follows that if by the application of techniques of linguistic reconstruction we can establish the donor languages of the past and their respective sets of borrowing languages, then we can draw important conclusions about the relative prestige of the speakers of specific languages at different periods in the past.

In section 2 of 'Akan history: some linguistic evidence'¹ I drew attention to a number of cases in which this line of reasoning appeared to be applicable. The evidence used in these cases, however, was not lexical borrowing but phonological borrowing (i.e. pronunciation borrowing), which produces comparable effects. The mechanism of phonological borrowing from a lingua franca is basically as follows: it is fashionable to use sound Y instead of sound X

1. Ghana Notes and Queries 9 (1966)

in language A; those who use language A only as a second language use sound Y instead of sound X not only when speaking language A but also when speaking their own language. A European example is the German change from the lingual r-sound to the uvular r-sound in accordance with the fashion prevailing in French at the time; French enjoyed considerable prestige at that time in Germany, where it was important as a second language, and French-speaking Germans, by adopting the French fashion, introduced it into German.

In each case a number of neighbouring languages (or dialects) were listed which had undergone one or more common phonological changes at a time when genetically they were already separate. Such sets of languages (or dialects) I called convergence groups to distinguish them from genetic groups. As both genetic groups and convergence groups result from common phonological innovations occurring throughout the relevant area, I preferred the term convergence group to the more usual term convergence area which seems to imply that genetic groups are not areal. I now propose to use the term acculturation group in preference to convergence group, as the latter logically requires the replacement of the term genetic group with divergence group. The distinction is then between genetic groups which have a common origin and acculturation groups which have, or at least at one time had, a common focus or centre.

Two of the apparent acculturation groups which I listed in my earlier paper are of special interest here as they both appear to be centred on a direct antecedent of present-day Akan: an Akan acculturation group consisting of Akan, Ahanta and Awutu, and a Tano acculturation group consisting of the Tano languages (Akan, Anyi-Bawule, Chakosi, Nzema and Ahanta), Awutu, Chiripon-Larteh-Anum and Ga.

The languages of the suggested Akan acculturation group appear to be genetically classifiable as follows:

| | | | | |
|--------|--------------|-----|------|-------------|
| Akan | | | Tano | Volta-Comoe |
| Ahanta | Nzema-Ahanta | Bia | Tano | Volta-Comoe |
| Awutu | | | Guan | Volta-Comoe |

They differ from the remaining known languages of the Tano and Guan groups in having a p-sound in place of the kp-sound which at one time almost certainly occurred in all the languages of these two groups, as Table 1 illustrates.

Ahanta and Awutu are both spoken on the coast, immediately to the west and east of Akan respectively. It appears that almost all those who speak Ahanta or Awutu as their first language also speak Akan. Akan has clearly gained many speakers at the expense of these languages, and would appear to have replaced Ahanta altogether in the Akan-speaking area adjoining the Ahanta-speaking area; there the people call themselves Ahanta but speak no Ahanta. Clearly speakers of Ahanta and Awutu have been using Akan for a long time; it is not surprising, therefore, to find evidence to suggest that all three languages belonged to a single acculturation group at the time of the replacement of the kp-sound with the p-sound. Unfortunately we have as yet no knowledge of the date of this replacement except that it must have been later than that of the p-sound with the f-sound and the h-sound, as will be shown later.

The languages of the suggested Tano acculturation group appear to be genetically classifiable as follows:

| | | |
|----------------------|------|-------------|
| The Tano languages | Tano | Volta-Comoe |
| Awutu | Guan | Volta-Comoe |
| Chiripon-Larteh-Anum | Guan | Volta-Comoe |
| Ga | | Ga-Adangme |

They differ from the remaining known languages of the Volta-Comoe and Ga-Adangme groups in having an f-sound or an h-sound in place

of the p-sound which at one time almost certainly occurred in all the languages of these two groups, as Table 2 illustrates.

Except for Chakosi, a language of the Tano genetic group which is known to have resulted from a migratory breakaway from Anyi-Bawule in relatively recent times, all the languages of the suggested Tano acculturation group together occupy a single compact area. Akan is widely used throughout that part of the area which falls within Ghana but not in the Ivory Coast part, where Anyi-Bawule is used instead. The simplest explanation of this situation would appear to be that ancestral Tano was used as a lingua franca throughout the area occupied by the languages ancestral to those of the Tano acculturation group, both at the time when the p-sound was replaced with the f-sound and the h-sound and at the time (most probably later) when ancestral Tano split into Bia and Akan branches; that after this split each of the two branches survived as a lingua franca in its own right; and that the role of ancestral Bia as a lingua franca was eventually inherited by Anyi-Bawule.

The degree of difference found between Akan and the other Tano languages suggest that the ancestral Tano language split up at least ten centuries ago, and it may well have been much earlier. The use of Akan as a lingua franca therefore seems to go back a very long time indeed.

It is clear that the replacement of the kp-sound with the p-sound came later than that of the p-sound with the f-sound and the h-sound, as otherwise the p-sound which replaced the kp-sound would have been replaced in turn by the f-sound and the h-sound. Since the eastern limit of the area in which the kp-sound was replaced is less far-flung than that of the area in which the p-sound was replaced, the question arises whether this indicates a lessening of Akan influence in the east as compared with the earlier Tano influence. It may do, but it would be inadvisable to place much reliance on this without further evidence; a phonological innovation in a lingua franca is not necessarily adopted into all the languages of an area over which it has a particular degree of influence. It is important to note that the boundaries of acculturation groups, unlike those of genetic groups, are often

far from clearcut.

The two successive phonological innovations which suggest the Tano and Akan acculturation groups respectively appear to be the last two of a strictly ordered succession of four:

| | | | | |
|-----|----|---|-----|-------------------------|
| (a) | h | → | y/w | (ancestral Volta-Comoe) |
| (b) | f | → | h | (ancestral Tano) |
| (c) | p | → | f | (ancestral Tano) |
| (d) | kp | → | p | (ancestral Akan) |

It is interesting to note that the replacement of the f-sound with the h-sound in ancestral Tano does not seem to have been followed in any of the non-Tano languages in the vicinity; this suggests that ancestral Tano was not established as a lingua franca until after this phonological innovation had taken place.

It is important to consider the apparent anomaly that the p-sound which was evidently replaced with an f-sound in ancestral Tano and Ga was replaced with an h-sound in ancestral Awutu and Chiripon-Larteh-Anum. The first explanation which suggests itself is that first the p-sound was replaced with an f-sound everywhere, and that subsequently this f-sound was replaced with an h-sound in the two southern Guan languages; however, as these latter languages retain the f-sound of ancestral Volta-Comoe apparently unchanged, this is highly unlikely. It seems more probable that the original change consisted simply in not closing the lips completely for the p-sound and thus producing an f-sound like that of present-day Ewe; the somewhat unstable f-sound could then have been replaced (i) by an f-sound in ancestral Tano, which appears to have had an h-sound but no f-sound at the time, (ii) by an h-sound in the ancestral southern Guan languages, which appear to have had an f-sound but no more than a few instances of any h-sound at the time, and (iii) by an f-sound in ancestral Ga, which appears to have had both an f-sound and an h-sound at the time.

To sum up, it appears that the use of Akan as a lingua franca

goes back to before the split-up of ancestral Tano but not as far back as the split-up of ancestral Volta-Comoe; that when ancestral Tano split up, ancestral Bia and ancestral Akan inherited the western and eastern portions respectively of the ancestral Tano lingua franca area; and that some considerable time after the split, Akan encroached on the Ahanta part of the Bia area, first as a lingua franca and later as a mother tongue.

J.M. Stewart.

| <u>Abure</u> | <u>Akan</u> (<u>Akwapim</u>) | <u>Chiripon-Larteh</u> <u>-Anum (Larteh)</u> | <u>Nkonya</u> | <u>Ga</u> | <u>Adangme</u> | |
|--------------|-----------------------------------|---|---------------|-----------|----------------|------------|
| | fēm | ha | pā | fà | pà | lend |
| | fòw | hole | | fò | pò | get wet |
| | m-fā | hé | | fà | dí-pà | guineaworm |
| | | hēnī | pĩnā | fí! á | pá | scar, sore |
| | | | ì-pà | fàí | pèé | hat |
| puplò | fú'fúú | ò-hwè | ì-pópwê | | | new |
| pēmplē | | ó-hě | ì-pépê | | | red |
| ò-púrùmí | fũnũmā | à-hỹrũ | ò-pũlũ | | | navel |
| ò-lù-puè | nũ-'fú | ò-hũ | nyò-pù | | | breast |
| | fó | hwè | í-pó | | | guilt |
| -puè | -fú | (-wù) | -pú | | | person |
| pile | fíré | | | | | call |
| pa | fà | | | | | take |

Table 2. Examples of the sound correspondence Abure (Ono, Volta-Comoe) p = Akan(Tano, Volta-Comoe) f = Chiripon-Larteh-Anum (Guan, Volta-Comoe) h = Nkonya (Guan, Volta-Comoe) p = Ga (Ga-Adangme) f = Adangme (Ga-Adangme) p. Note that brackets in the table indicate that the item enclosed is irregular with respect to the p = f = h = p = f = p correspondence. For the significance of the blanks and the symbols, see the caption to Table 1.

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ETHNOGRAPHIC 'FINDS' REGALIA II.

Our collector Mr. Ameyaw brings to us an instalment of new ethnographic 'finds'. The present instalment comes from Akrokeri and Bodweseango both in Adansi traditional area.

We are now embarking on a systematic collection of relics from specific places, in order to obtain data for comparative study of art forms in Ghana.

The relics documented here are not very different from some of those we have already catalogued. The difference is that each piece has a specific story to tell and those we have in this set lead into aspects of the history of the region.

It will be interesting to compare some of the umbrella and state sword symbols of this Adansi area with those of Denkyira, reported upon elsewhere in this review.

REGALIA associated with Chieftaincy:

1. Nseniefo kye - Court criers cap made of monkey skin attached to a square wooden plate. To the wooden plate is attached a wooden carving of a gongon. The whole plate and the attached gong is covered with gold leaf. Worn by the herald or Court crier as insignia of his office. This is used principally when running errands and at durbars.

Given by Bodweseanwohene Barima Yaw Ahenkora II and elders. Cat. I 66.67. Age 50.

2. "Katakyie sɔ nakofana mu a otie ne ya" - A type of Chief's cap made of lion's skin. Originally it was worn during warfare. Now worn on Odwira Thursdays (Odwira huro) to recollect the bravery of the ancestors. Odwira (Thursday) is a mournful occasion, and the chief discards

gold ornaments. Similar type of cap is worn by sword bearers.

Given by Bodweseangohene Barima Yaw Ahenkora II and elders. Age 50. Cat. I. 66.68.

3. Akofena - State sword coated with blood. It was used in the Ashanti wars of 1698 and 1742 respectively by Nananom Owusu Gyakari Panin and Adu Gyamfi Kumanin. Given by Bodweseangohene Barima Yaw Ahenkora II and elders. Cat. I. 66.69.
4. Akyeamepoma - Linguist staff Kɔ tɔkɔ (a porcupine). The symbol indicates the readiness of the state to wage war on its enemies. Made by Nana Tabiri Agyei Okofɔ I. Given by Nana Benefo Apenteng II Dampoasihene and elders. Cat. I. 66.71. C. 70 years.
5. Batakari kesee "Gyeabɔ" - Battle Smock to which are sewn talismans. It was used by successive chiefs of Akrokeri in various wars. It served as bullet proof coat. Made by the fourth chief, Nana Asare Bediako I, a renowned warrior in the local traditional history. Given by Akrokerihene Nana Owusu Sampah III and elders. Cat. I. 66.72.
6. Mpaboa kesee - A pair of leather Sandals with the straps decorated with gold. Its age unestimated. Collected from Akrokerihene Nana Owusu Sampah III and elders. Cat. I. 66.74.
7. Sika Abotiri - Head band or Fillets. Made of fine black velvet and richly decorated with gold ornament in the form of stars. It was worn by the chief on ceremonial occasions. The traditional meaning of the symbols is that the chief shines like the stars. Age not determined. Collected from Akrokerihene Nana Owusu Sampah II and elders. Cat. I. 66.75.

8. "Akrafokonmu" - A Gold breast plate strung to white cord. Worn as a badge of office by the Okrafo (soul-washer or bearer of the chief). The white cord as necklace symbolises sanctity and purity. The knob in the centre of the disc represents the heart of the chief. The Okrafo is the most sacred person who is entitled to all the privileges of the chief. His official dress is white calico. Usually the breast-plate is of wood covered with gold or silver leaf. This beaten gold type was made by the 27th and richest Akrokerihene, Nana Ntori Bonkyi I. Diameter $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. Given by Akrokerihene Nana Owusu Sampah III and elders. Cat. I 66.76.
9. Kyiniye ntuatire - Umbrella top designed as knotted stem of a cane plant. Its maxim is "Nea otane me mebu me babadua mu". (He who hates me should break the stem). This is a symbol to signify warning against malice and conspiracy. The same symbol may be used on linguist staffs. Carver unknown. Commissioned by Nana Kofi Ohemen of Obogu. Age 24 years. Given by Oboguhene Nana Gyasi Ampe II and elders. Cat. I. 66.88.
10. Akonimono - A necklace of human spinal bones. Intermixed with variegated beads. It is worn by executioners of Akrokerihene as part of their insignia of office. The bones are that of an executed victim of the Obonsam cult, a deity of Akrokeri. Given by Okomfohene Kwame Anowuo of Patakro with the consent of Akrokerihene and elders. Cat. I. 67.09.
11. Mpaboake see - A pair of leather sandals decorated with gold ornaments. Worn on ceremonial occasions. It was made for Bodweseangohene Owusu Gyakari II. No more used. Preserved. Collected from Bodweseangohene Barima Yaw Ahenkora II and elders. Cat. I. 67.15.

12. Akyeamepoma Okum Sasabonsam - Linguist staff symbol showing a duel between a warrior and a monster. The symbol means Bodweseango is powerful. The people are supposed to have fought the invincible and subdued it. The symbol is the insignia of bravery of the people of Bodweseango. Tradition has it that the indigenous people encountered the dreadful monster "Sasabonsam" and killed it to capture the land. This defeat was in the reign of Bodweseangohene Nana Gyakari Panin and the Krontihene, Ampoti Dwaa, was the spearhead in the encounter.. It is claimed that the hat of the monster which Ampoti Dwaa captured is still in the custody of the Bodweseangohene. This staff was made for Barima Owusu Gyakari II. Age c 44 years. Carved by Agyeman of Onwi near Ejisu Ashanti. Collected from Barima Yaw Ahenkora II and elders. Cat.1.67.17.
13. Linguist staff top. A boy standing fearlessly by a lion. It is covered with gold leaf. "Kwabia nnim gyata a ase ay e odwan" (Kwabia, the ignoramus, takes a lion for a sheep). The meaning may be said to be similar to the English expression "Some one is playing with fire". This symbol is a warning to people who would like to take the chief for a ride. Made for and given by Barima Yaw Ahenkora II, Bodweseangohene. Cat.1.67.16. Age recent.
14. "Sepaw" - Executioners' knife. Made in the time of the priest Kofi Akom of the spirit Obonsam. It was used for execution in the olden days. Length 11 ins. Collected from Okonfohene Kwame Anowuo of Patakro-Akrokeri. Cat.1 67.07. Age c 100.
15. "Krɔɔnkye" - Executioners' cap. It is made of leopard skin and used by executioners as a cap of office. Made for the priest of the Obonsam cult, Kofi Akom, a contemporary of Asantehene Kofi Karikari (1867-1873) and Akrokerihene Abu ɔboaba. Collected from Okomfohene Kwame Anowuo of Patakro-Akrokeri. Cat.1. 67.08. Age 94 +.

16. Small Kuduo used as containers for gold dust. Made for chief Osafo Kantanka Panin. Obtained from Ahinsanhene Osafo Kantanka and elders. Cirf. 13 ins. Height 6 ins. Cat.1. 67.11.

17. Linguist staff. Symbol : Old leopard with a prey of a duiker in its mouth. "Kurotwiamansa ba akwakora sen ara a, otwe de e otumi kye no". (No matter how old a leopard may be, it is capable of catching a duiker for its prey). This means a chief who was once great is always great. He is always a force to reckon with. By this symbol the Ahinsanhene is reminding all people that he is still powerful in spite of the changes in his age or fortune. Obtained from Ahinsanhene Nana Osafo Kantanka V and elders. Cat.1. 67.12. Age c 80 years.

18. State Ceremonial Sword. Hilt decorated with gold leaf. It is used by state couriers on errands as a badge of credence. Made for and given by Akrokerihene Nana Owusu Sampa III. Age 16 years. Carved by Kwasi Fuller of Akrokeri. Cat.1. 67.04.

19. "Kokosese" - A bunch of Ostrich feather whisk seen particularly on ceremonial occasions. Tells part of the history of migrations and trade relations. Made for the 47th Akrokerihene, Nana Adu Sampah Kuma. Given by Nana Owusu Sampa III and elders. Cat.1.67.05.

20. "Fotoa" - Leather Wallet. It is used to store valuable treasures and gold-weights, and carried by the Chief's treasurer "Sunna-hene". Made for 45th Akrokerihene Abo Boaba. Obtained from Nana Owusu Sampa III and elders. Cat.1.67.06. Age c 90 years.

21. "Nkantan" - Copper iron necklace. It is worn by chiefs at funerals of royalists. Made for Konongohene Ofobiri Amoako Koko contemporary of Asantehene Osei Yaw (1824-1838) Cat. I. 67. 01.

A. K. Quarcoo.

THE REMNANTS OF ASHANTI TAFO'S GLORIES
IN POTTERY

The once very famous pottery of Ashanti Tafo has unfortunately declined. Indeed, it has literally almost disappeared altogether.

We are told that Akosua Baa, the daughter of Queen-mother Ama Serwa Sarabi, was taken away to the British Empire Exhibition to demonstrate her dexterity at pottery¹. The Queen-mother's family, of course, was a very outstanding pot making group.

There has always been a set of dishes made in the Queen-mother's house, which royal lineages borrowed (as a sort of "dinner set") for their great feasts (Aduane kese). They are no longer used for this purpose and have been carefully stacked away on the ceiling of a kitchen when we asked for them. The first set of pots in line drawings, are the remnants of the "dinner set" type of pots. The second set marked II are other very specialised pots which were made in the past but now made only on order and by not more than five people in Tafo.

NOTE

We have been able to acquire these pots and would like to place on record the word put in for us by Mr. A.C. Denteh and his wife Princess Afua Denteh of Tafo. (The pots are in the Ethnographic Museum of the Institute of African Studies, Legon).

1. Rattray, R.S.: Religion and Art in Ashanti, 1927 p.306.

DENKYIRA ODWIRA 1966

A party of various grades of the research and tutorial personnel of the Institute of African Studies, Legon, trekked to Dunkwa-on-Offin, in the Denkyira Traditional Area on the 26th of November, 1966 to see their annual Odwira or Cleansing festival. It is one of the grand occasions on which the ancestors are remembered, honoured and asked to continue to intercede for the living.

Mr. Ameyaw, the Research Assistant (Ethnography), went ahead of the party and was able to line up things in such a way as to make us see a lot within the very short time at our disposal.

-
1. The present Denkyira traditional area is located at the south of the River Offin and extends due southwards, 14 miles to Cape Coast. Denkyira was once a great kingdom and had paramountcy over many Akan tribes of today. At the height of its power Abankesieso or Bansa, some 15 miles south of present Gyakobu (Jakobu) and west of Adansi Akyerekyerere (Akrokeri) territory, was the capital. According to oral tradition, the Denkyiras, like other Akan tribes, had their original home some where in Mande, in the region between the Niger and the Volta. They migrated southward as a result of hostilities and famine. Their ancestress was Ayekraa Adeboe who belonged to the Agona clan. They crossed the Volta and reached the area of Takyiman (Techiman) in Bono (Brong) round about 1570.

After a time, the migrants lived for a while with the Nkyiras in the same region. They were at the time known as Adawufo; because they depended upon the Nkyiras hence the name Denkyira a corruption of Da-Nkyirafo. Another tradition suggests that Denkyira is Dan-Nkyirafo, literary, naturalised Nkyiras.

The migration continued till the Denkyiras settled at Tutumbe in Adansi which had been established by the Asakyiri clan and others like those of Akyerekyerere (Akrokeri), Dampoasi, Ayaasi, Kokobiante and Edubiase. From Tutumbe, they moved to the western border of Adansi and founded their famous capital Abankesieso. It was situated at the northern confluence of

The last day of the festivities connected with the Afahye was characterized by jubilation and a state durbar, at which a lot of symbols on umbrellas, linguist sticks and state swords were displayed.

Rivers Offin and Oda, a little inland near the present village of Abuakwa.

The Denkyiras subdued the indigenous settlers, the Adansis, who accepted the conquerors' authority. This was the beginning of the rise of the Denkyira kingdom. Subsequently, there were series of campaigns against the neighbouring states. Many of these states were reduced to the condition of dependencies. Ashanti fell before the Denkyira powerful arms. Denkyira became a rich and potent kingdom. This historical fact is referred to in Akan lore as "Kotoko som Amponsem" literary "The porcupine (Ashanti) serves Amponsem" (Denkyira).

The Denkyira kingdom grew very rich and became known to the Europeans on the Atlantic shores as a people with great quantities of alluvial gold. During the reign of Boa Amponsem I, he could afford to have new gold ornaments cast for every ceremonial occasion; gold used once for anything was never used again. This earned him the epithet: "Boa Amponsem a, odi sika tomprada" (Boa Amponsem who eats fresh gold).

In the time of the proud and arrogant seventh Denkyirahene, Ntim Gyakari, Ashanti and other afflicted subject-states rebelled against Denkyira. Asantehene Osei Tutu led the rebels. In a two years engagement, the Ashanti and allies inflicted a most crushing defeat on Denkyira at Feyiase near Bekwai. However, although they were overrun, the Denkyiras remained at Abankesieso under the surveillance of the Bekwaihene, a clan-brother of the Asantehene.

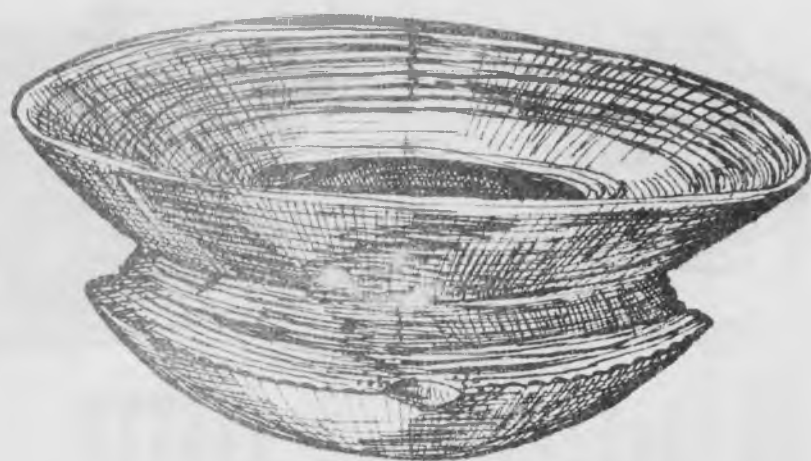
Kwadwo Otibo, Denkyirahene, returned a conqueror having beheaded the formidable Gyamanhene Kofi Adinkra. The Asantehene, Bonsu Panin, was over impressed with the valour of Kwadwo Otibo. Indeed he began to be afraid of him and instead of words of gratitude,

With the industry of Messrs Kwabena Ameyaw our pilot, and A.C. Denteh² who was virtually in charge of the group that went to see the festival we were able to bring you a catalogue of a few symbols, with their meaning and significance.

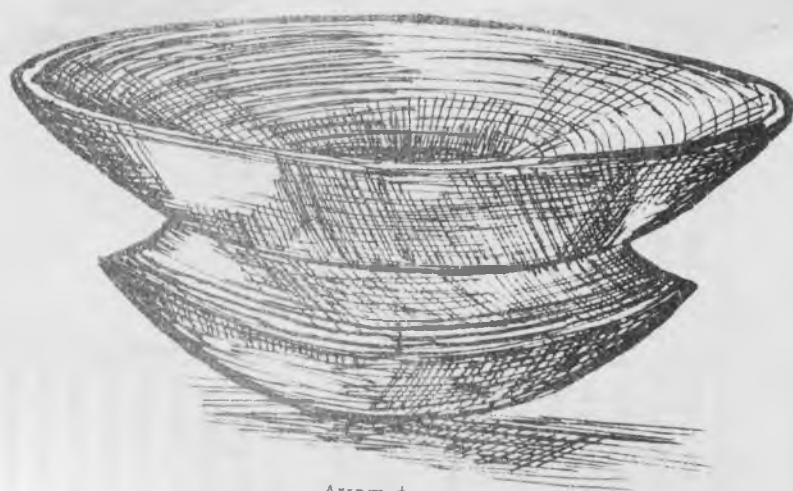
A.K. Quarcoo.

Kwadwo Otibo was greeted with words of ingratitude. This disappointed Kwadwo Otibo so much that he and his people migrated and crossing the Offin settled in Jukwa which has since become the capital of Denkyira. It was in the course of the move that Dunkwa was built by some of the Denkyiras. (Oral traditional history: Collected by K. Ameyaw).

2. This catalogue has been made available for further study through Mr. Ameyaw who meticulously documented the text and Mr. Denteh who helped to give remarks (Related proverbs). The photographs of these were taken by Mr. K. Andoh. The catalogue with pictures is available in the library of the Institute of African Studies, Legon.

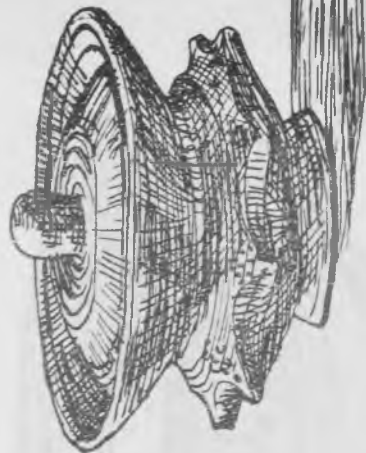


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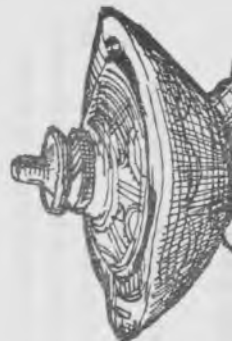


Ayewatoro

Fig. 1 Aduane-Kesee nsanka.



Ketekye



Akyekyerem



Akyekyerem



Komiti



Komiti

Fig. 2

| DESCRIPTION | MAXIM OF THE SYMBOL AND LITERATURE TRANSLATION | MEANING | DESCRIPTION |
|--|--|--|--|
| 1. A young man attempting to swallow a small bird wholly is restrained by a chief. | Anoma sua a, ye mpatu nwe no ne ne ntakra, yetutu ne ho ansa. (No matter how small a bird may be, it is not eaten hurriedly with the feathers. The feathers have to be taken off first. | Gently does it, must be the motto. Order is heavens first law. | The man who own this staff may seem small, yet he occupies a significant post in the state which must not be ignored; he must be dealt with in a constitutional manner. A stress on justice and fair play. |
| 2. A man is trying laboriously to scrape the back of a tree into a receptacle. | Obaako were aduru a egu. (If one person attempts to scrape back-medicine from a tree by himself, the shavings fall out of the receptacle) | Many hands make light work. | By this, the chief is seeking the co-operation of his subjects in the running of the state. i.e. A symbol reminding all that every one in the community is important and has a part to play to make for success. |

| DESCRIPTION | MAXIM OF THE SYMBOL AND LITERATURE TRANSLATION | MEANING | REMARKS |
|--|--|--|---|
| 3. A hen looking at the beak of a cockerel | Akoko bedede nim adekyesi nanso ohwe onini ano. (The hen knows the approach of day, but she leaves it to the cockerel to announce). | Only appropriate authority can effectively deal with what 'It must deal with.' Propriety is a vital canon of life. | The office-bearer who possesses this may know the way to go about things, but he should not usurp his master's rights. This is a warning against impertinence and impetuosity. i.e. Propriety is a vital canon of life. |
| 4. The head of an animal is a pot of soup. | Aboa tiri nyera nkwan mu. (One cannot mistake the head of an animal in the soup even if the other parts of the animal are unrecognizable). | It is an easy thing to make a prominent person out in a crowd. Or a giant is always a giant even if he stands in a valley. | The chief who has this claims that it is impossible for his state to be ignored in the affairs of the country. The position due to a person is always recognizable. |

| DESCRIPTION | MAXIM OF THE SYMBOL AND LITERATURE TRANSLATION | MEANING | REMARKS |
|--|--|---|---|
| 5. Three people seated have brought their heads together | Etire ne tire hyia a, ntaro mma. (When heads come together, quarrels or factions do not arise). | Misunderstandings are resolved more quickly at a round table conference. | A chief displays this as an appeal for unity and mutual understanding. |
| 6. A "have-not" looking on hopelessly as the "have" enjoys his plenty. | Dee adee wo no na odie, na enye dee eka m de no. (It is the owner of the food who has the right to eat it and not the person who is hungry). | It is he who has a right to a thing who enjoys it and not just any one who wants it or thinks he should have it. | This is a symbol to signify one's authority to one's inherited rights. |
| 7. A man holding a box of matches and standing by a lantern. | Dee okura kanea anadwo na anim kwan mu asem. (He who holds the lamp at night knows best the situation of the road). | On the path, especially at night, it is the light-bearer who leads the people; they should therefore take his wise counsel. It is prudent to pay heed to the knowledgeable. | This is the sign of the Abuakwa Twafoshe. He leads before any one else can follow. He is the man who is knowledgeable of what is ahead on the war-path. |

| DESCRIPTION | MAXIM OF THE SYMBOL AND LITERATURE TRANSLATION | MEANING | REMARKS |
|--|---|--|---|
| 8. A nest, a weaver-bird and an eagle. | Akyem anwono ne pirebuo na Okoropon agye afiri ne nsam. (The weaver-bird has made its nest and the mighty eagle has seized it). | Humble people make achievements and then powerful people wrench them from their hands. | This is paradoxically a refute of the idea that "Might is power". |
| 9. A seated man with his right hand covering up one eye, and with the left hand pointing to the ear. | W'ani na anhunu a, w'aso nso ante? (If it is your eye that didn't see, didn't your ear hear?). | If you do not hear, you may see. | This is a symbol indicating that no one can claim exoneration from common responsibility on the plea of ignorance. |
| 10. Two spiders sitting on their web; there are two men standing at each side of the web. | Obi nkyekyere nyansa mfa nk Kwaku Ananse kurom. (Nobody ties up wisdom to convey to the home of great spider). | If the place abounds in a particular commodity, there is no need for any one to carry the same type of thing to the place as if though there was none. (Carrying coal to Newcastle or one cannot be too wise). | By this staff, the chief is warning that there is enough wisdom in his state, and that no one can come and tell a tall story without his people seeing through it. This is the type of symbol to wam an intriguing politician. |

| DESCRIPTION | MAXIM OF THE SYMBOL AND LITERATURE TRANSLATION | MEANING | REMARKS |
|---|---|--|---|
| <p>11. (Left) A plantain with some young shoots</p> <p>(Middle) A man holding a gun in his right hand, and a human head in his left hand.</p> <p>(Right) A rat, a snake and a squirrel by a cluster of palm nuts.</p> | <p>Borode ase nhye da. (The plantain will never become destitute of suckers).</p> <p>Twafo ne tire! (The commander of the Advance-Guard and a human head.)</p> <p>Mmoa nyinaa di abe, opuro nko nkodi bi a, na yereye no. (All creatures eat the palm-nut; but when the squirrel goes to eat it, it is abused).</p> | <p>This is to say that the plantain will ever remain prolific</p> <p>He always encounters the enemy first, strikes first, brings heads before any one else brings one</p> <p>Some people become the unfortunate victims of attack when they do what is a common practice in the society.</p> | <p>The chief who owns this is boasting of the antiquity of his line.</p> <p>This would be the staff of the Twafohene to show his prowess..</p> <p>The chief owning this would through it be announcing that his actions are of the familiar type; comments on them therefore should be sympathetic and not acrimonious.</p> |
| 12. The pine apple with some suckers. | Aborobe ase ntu da. (The pine apple will never become extinct). | There will always be a "sucker" - successor to perpetuate the lineage. | The graces which this chief is endowed with will never run dry. |

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